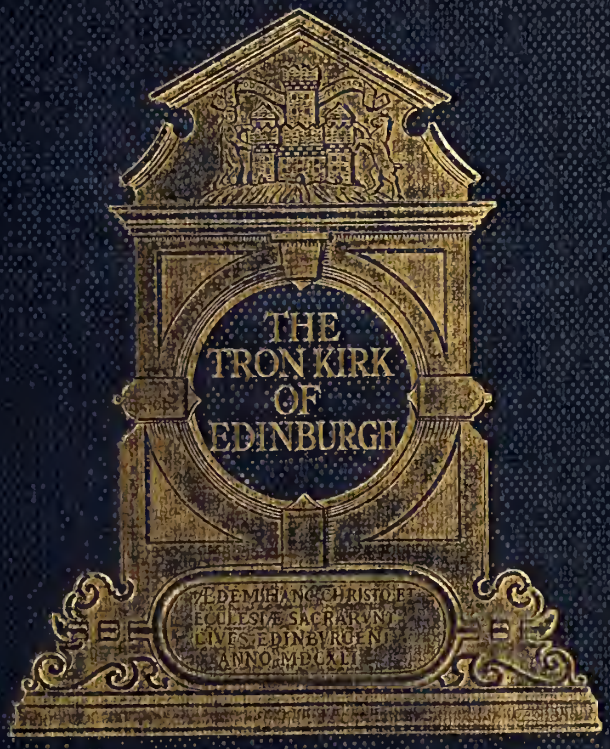

THE
TRON KIRK
OF
EDINBURGH
ÆDEM HANC CHRISTO ET
ECCLESIÆ SACRAVERUNT
CIVES EDINBURGENI
ANNO M DCXLI

LIBRARY OF PRINCETON
DA 890 .E4 T8 1906
Butler, Dugald, 1862-1906.
The Tron kirk of Edinburgh

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2014

https://archive.org/details/tronkirkofedinbu00butl

THE TRON KIRK OF EDINBURGH

WORKS BY THE REV. D. BUTLER, M.A.

THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF ARCHBISHOP LEIGHTON.

ETERNAL ELEMENTS IN THE CHRISTIAN FAITH.

SCOTTISH CATHEDRALS AND ABBEYS. In Church of Scotland Guild Series. With Introduction by the Very Rev. Principal STORY, D.D., LL.D., Glasgow University.

JOHN WESLEY AND GEORGE WHITEFIELD IN SCOTLAND.

HENRY SCOUGAL AND THE OXFORD METHODISTS.

THE ANCIENT CHURCH AND PARISH OF ABERNETHY, PERTHSHIRE.

LIBRARY OF PRINCETON
1943
THEOLOGICAL SEM.

THE TRON KIRK OF EDINBURGH

OR

CHRIST'S KIRK AT THE TRON

A HISTORY

BY THE

REV. D. BUTLER, M.A.

MINISTER OF THE TRON PARISH, EDINBURGH

OLIPHANT, ANDERSON & FERRIER

EDINBURGH AND LONDON

MCMVI

Printed by

MORRISON & GIBB LIMITED, *Edinburgh*

FOR

OLIPHANT, ANDERSON & FERRIER

EDINBURGH AND LONDON

TO

SIR JAMES D. MARWICK, LL.D.

I DEDICATE

THIS VOLUME

WITH AFFECTION AND ESTEEM

PREFACE

THE Tron Kirk of Edinburgh, dedicated to Christ by the citizens of Edinburgh in 1641, and known as "Christ's Kirk at the Tron," has had an important history. It was one of the four early parish churches of Edinburgh, subsequent to the Scottish Reformation of 1560. It has served the City well for nearly three centuries, and has been intimately allied with it. Situated between the Castle and Holyrood Palace, and under the shadow of the Old Scottish Parliament House, the Tron has been also associated with the National life, and those who helped to shape it. An endeavour has been here made to write its history from the City of Edinburgh Records. Being one of the old city churches of Edinburgh, much regarding it has been preserved in the Council Records, and compensates in some measure for the destruction of its own distinctive annals, which perished in the fire of 1824, and were destroyed with the old and well-known steeple.

The Tron or South-East Parish was formed in 1598, and included the greater part of the south side of old Edinburgh. Gordon of Rothiemay writes of it in 1647, and refers to its wynds and closes as "exceeding streets elsewhere (throughout old Edinburgh) in the number of indwellers and fairness of houses." Within it were the old patrician Blackfriars', Niddrie's, and St. Mary's Wynds, as well as the Cowgate, in which "were the palaces belonging to the princes of the land, nothing there being humble or rustic, but all magnificent!" An English traveller, visiting the Tron in 1705, thus records his impression in his Diary :—"The Nobility generally

resort to the Tron Church, *which is the principall*, and the Lord High Commissioner has a Throne erected in it, in a very spatious Gallery, on his right hand sits the Lord Chancellor, and on his left the Lord Provost of Edenborough."[1] All these statements are fully corroborated by the seat-lists here published (pp. 148–160, 171–182), and more particularly by the special grants of pews made by the Town Council of Edinburgh to Noblemen, Senators of the College of Justice, Citizens of the Old Town, Principals and Professors of the University (see pp. 213 to 243, and pp. 301 to 319 in text). About the close of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century, the names given reflect the rise and fall of parties in the State.

The Tron or old South-East Parish dates from the time when there were only four parishes in the burgh of Edinburgh. These parishes are still represented by the four oldest City Churches—St. Giles' Cathedral, Trinity College, Old Greyfriars, and the Tron. The old N.-E. Parish worshipped in Trinity College Church; the old N.-W. Parish (now the High Church or St. Giles Parish) worshipped in the "East," the "Little," or the "New" Kirk—the Eastern Portion of St. Giles; the old S.-W. Parish (represented to-day by the historical Old Greyfriars' Church) worshipped in the Magdalene Chapel, and afterwards in the Tolbooth, then within St. Giles, at the west end of the Cathedral; and the old S.-E. (or Tron Parish) *in the Great Kirk of St. Giles.* This position the S.-E. (or Tron Parish) occupied from 1560 to 1647, in which year the present Tron Kirk (ordered to be built by Charles I. when he created Edinburgh a City and St. Giles a Cathedral Church) was ready for occupation by the S.-E. Parish people. The Tron congregation were thus historically part of the original congregation of John Knox, and worshipped till 1647 in the part of St. Giles (the "Great Kirk") where he preached. As it was the anglicanising tendencies of King Charles I., under the guidance of Laud, that finally displaced them,

[1] See page 242.

so there were two temporary displacements (under similar ideals in 1584 and 1625) that caused them no little heart-burning, and brought about the resignation of their clergy, who witnessed against the meddling of the King in Church affairs, and for the spiritual independence of the Kirk to manage its own in a constitutional form. The S.-E. Parish thus represented the spirit of Knox and the *genius loci* of his historical Kirk. My conclusions on this point are the same as those of Mr. Findlay (p. 90).

Generally speaking, the Chamberlain's Account Books only state the sum total of the Seat Rents collected each year, but fortunately the full list of Seatholders has been preserved for 1650, the year of Dunbar, and for 1745, when Prince Charles was in Edinburgh. These are full of interest, and are printed in Chapters VI. and VII.

The Chamberlain's Accounts from 1637 to 1647, relating to the building of the Tron Kirk, illustrate the social and work-a-day life of the period, and are printed in Chapter V.

All the structural changes in St. Giles, illustrating the Church history from the Scottish Reformation down to the end of the Restoration, are printed in Chapters II., III., and IV., and were extracted direct from the City Records for this work.

The Tron Kirk Chronicle (Chapter IX.) discloses much that is interesting in relation to the City of Edinburgh and the Church. These references are clothed in the quaint language of the period, and at a later date illustrate the transition from Old to New Edinburgh.

The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland met in the Tron from 1830 to 1840—the period of the "Ten Years' Conflict." But for the general complaints of the Kirk-Session (pp. 286–287) and their special complaint (pp. 288–291), the Secession of 1843 would, in all probability, have taken place from the Tron across the North Bridge, instead of from St. Andrew's Church. This is considered in Chapter XII.

The reminiscences by the Very Rev. Dr. James MacGregor of his ministry in the Tron will be read with much interest, and I am

specially indebted to him for so kindly contributing this chapter (pp. 349–359).

I desire to express my most hearty thanks to the Town Clerk and City Chamberlain of Edinburgh for so kindly granting access to the City Records and Accounts; to Mr. Jarvis, assistant to the Town Clerk, for his service and care in extracting the references to the Tron; to the obliging librarians and assistants in the Signet, Advocates', and Public Libraries in Edinburgh, for so readily placing at my disposal books and contemporaneous newspapers; to Dr. Maitland Thomson, of the Register House, Edinburgh, for occasional assistance; to the Very Rev. Dr. Cameron Lees, St. Giles' Cathedral, and Messrs. W. & R. Chambers for their kind permission to reproduce the plate of the Riot in St. Giles; to my father-in-law, Sir James Marwick, LL.D., for his valuable Burgh Records; to Mr. Leckie and his colleagues in the British Linen Bank, for so kindly giving me access to the Communion Plate in their custody; to Mr. Arthur Thomas, S.S.C., Session Clerk, for giving me access to documents; to Mr. Williamson, a Tron Elder, for giving the use of a valuable print, which Mrs. Butler has copied for this work; to Alexander Greig, Esq.,—another Tron Elder,—for frequent consultation and information; and to Messrs. Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier for their constant help and painstaking care in the production of this work, as well as to others acknowledged in the text (pp. 150, 325, 341).

D. BUTLER.

54 Blacket Place,
Edinburgh, 13*th August* 1906.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

PAGE

The Old Tron Parish of Edinburgh: its History and its Memories . 19

Appendix on Markets, etc. 67

CHAPTER II

The Kirk of St. Giles as the Reformed Kirk of Edinburgh . . 73

CHAPTER III

The Great Kirk of St. Giles as the Parish Church of the South-East, afterwards the Tron Parish of Edinburgh 87

Appendix on Division of Kirks and Parishes . . . 94

CHAPTER IV

The Building of the Tron Kirk, and the Storm around its Birth . 107

CHAPTER V

Seventeenth Century Architecture, Sculpture, Workmen, and Benefactors of the Tron 127

CHAPTER VI

The Effects of the Battle of Dunbar on Edinburgh and the Tron Congregation of 1650 141

CHAPTER VII

Prince Charles in Edinburgh, and the Jacobite Lecturer in the Tron Kirk 165

CHAPTER VIII

PAGE

Ministers of the "Great Kirk" in St. Giles prior to the Removal of the Congregation in 1647 to the Tron; Ministers of the Tron from 1647 185

CHAPTER IX

The Chronicle of the Tron Kirk from 1637, containing Names of prominent Seatholders 203

CHAPTER X

Prominent Members of the Tron Kirk (from 1744 to 1822). . . . 301

CHAPTER XI

Church Plate, Windows, etc. 323

A Royal Message to the Children of the Tron Parish . 329

CHAPTER XII

Meetings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in the Tron Kirk 333

CHAPTER XIII

John Ruskin's Grandfather a Merchant at the West of the Tron Kirk 341

CHAPTER XIV

Reminiscences of his Ministry in the Tron Parish, by the Very Rev. Dr. James MacGregor, St. Cuthbert's Parish, Edinburgh . . 349

APPENDIX

(*a*) Proposed Improvement Plan of City of Edinburgh in 1786 . . 363

(*b*) Niddry Street School 364

(*c*) Index 371

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

PAGE

THE TRON CHURCH IN 1906 . . . . . *Frontispiece*
A Photogravure by Annan from a Photograph.

TRON STEEPLE AND TRON BEAM 18
Enlarged from Gordon of Rothiemay's Plan.

BLACKFRIARS WYND, 1837 28
From Wilson's *Memorials of Edinburgh in the Olden Time.*

THE MODERN HERCULES DESTROYING THE HYDRA OF FANATICISM . . 40
From Kay's Portraits.

A VIEW OF THE NETHERBOW PORT OF EDINBURGH FROM THE WEST . . 45
From Arnot's *History of Edinburgh.*

THE TRONE CHURCH 48
P. Fourdrinier, Sculp. From Maitland's *History of Edinburgh.*

THE GUARD-HOUSE AND BLACK TURNPIKE 70

JOHN KNOX'S PULPIT IN ST. GILES 72

THE SOUTH-EAST OR TRON PARISH OF EDINBURGH, 1625 . . . 91
From Gordon of Rothiemay's Plan.

THE JENNY GEDDES TUMULT 106
From Burton's *Civil Wars.*

A PERSPECTIVE VIEW OF THE FRONT OF THE TRON KIRK, WITH THE ADJOINING BUILDINGS 129
From Arnot's *History of Edinburgh.*

ROBERT BRUCE OF KINNAIRD, MINISTER AT EDINBURGH, 1587 . . . 186
From an Engraving on Steel by J. Swan.

REV. DR. ANDREW HUNTER OF BARJARG, MINISTER OF THE TRON PARISH, 1786–1809 191

THE FIVE ALLS 192
From Kay's Portraits.

REV. DR. JOHN HUNTER, MINISTER OF THE TRON PARISH, 1832–1866 . . 198

REV. DR. MAXWELL NICHOLSON, MINISTER OF THE TRON PARISH, 1854–1867 . 198

THE OAK ROOF OF THE TRON KIRK 208

PAGE

CENTRAL SECTION OF "THE PROSPECT OF THE NORTH SIDE OF EDINBURGH," *circa* 1660, SHOWING TRON STEEPLE UNFINISHED 213

PROPOSED PERSPECTIVE VIEW OF SOUTH BRIDGE AND HUNTER'S SQUARE, 1787, SHOWING TRON CHURCH UNALTERED 257
From Old Print belonging to Mr. Walter G. Anderson.

TRON CHURCH, HUNTER'S SQUARE, ETC. 262
From Brown's *Guide to Edinburgh*, 1792.

EBENEZER WILSON, RINGER OF THE TRON KIRK BELL 268
From Kay's Portraits.

DR. ANDREW HUNTER 268
From Kay's Portraits.

CONFLAGRATION OF THE TRON CHURCH, 16TH NOVEMBER 1824 272
W. Turner.

VIEW OF THE GREAT FIRE AT EDINBURGH, TAKEN ON THE 16TH DAY OF NOVEMBER 1824 274
W. Turner.

NEW TRON STEEPLE 283
From Shepherd's *Modern Athens.*

NEW YEAR'S EVE AT THE TRON CHURCH 283
From Ballingall's *Edinburgh Past and Present.*

THE HIGH STREET IN 1793 319
From a Water-Colour Sketch by Mrs. Butler, after David Allan.

COMMUNION TOKENS USED IN EDINBURGH CITY CHURCHES 322

CHURCH PLATE—COMMUNION AND BAPTISMAL VESSELS 323

CHURCH PLATE—BRASS AND PEWTER PLATES 325

THE HIGH STREET OF EDINBURGH, WITH COMMISSIONER'S PROCESSION . 334
From Coloured Sketch in the Edinburgh City Museum.

THE HOUSE AT EDINBURGH WHERE MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS WAS CONFINED—PROBABLY LORD HOME'S LODGING 341
From Old Print.

PART OF JAMES CRAIG'S PLAN (1786) FOR REMODELLING THE OLD TOWN, SHOWING PROPOSED OCTAGON 364

ORNAMENTAL PANEL OVER DOORWAY OF TRON KIRK 383

CHAPTER I

THE OLD TRON PARISH OF EDINBURGH: ITS HISTORY AND ITS MEMORIES

TRON STEEPLE AND TRON BEAM, SHOWING COURT IN WHICH GEORGE BUCHANAN DIED.—*See page* 52.

CHAPTER I

THE OLD TRON PARISH OF EDINBURGH: ITS HISTORY AND ITS MEMORIES

THE old High Street of Edinburgh, where the Tron Kirk[1] stands, was distinguished in earlier days for its length, its spaciousness, and its height; and Jorwin de Rocheford says of it, "This street is so wide that it seems a market-place throughout its whole extent."[2] In the time of Queen Mary, and long after it, all the houses were faced with wooden boards, perforated with oval holes, which served the purpose of windows; and the vista of the street was broken by the wooden galleries that projected from the second storey. "This lining with boards," says another traveller, "wherein are round holes shaped to the proportion of men's heads, and this encroachment into the street about two yards, is a mighty disgrace unto it, for the walls (which were the outside) are stone: so as if this outside facing of boards were removed, and the houses built uniform all of the same height, it were the most complete street in Christendom."[3] A feature, which attracted the visitor's attention, was the numerous projections from the main buildings, and these consisted either of outside stairs or of wooden erections, which constituted the shops or booths of the various tradespeople. They often encroached into the street so far as both to be a general menace and an interference with the general

[1] Throughout this chapter on the Tron Parish, the boundaries of 25th November 1625 have been followed. The Parish was subdivided on at least three later occasions, and is now the smallest in Edinburgh.

[2] *Early Travellers*, p. 48.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 62.

traffic. The magistrates did their best to cope with this, although their endeavours do not seem to have been generally successful, if one may judge by the example of a Niddrie Street saddler. The entry in the City Records is as follows:—"decernis and ordanis Jhone Richertsoun, saidler, to remove and tak down his treyne chop laitlie biggett vnder the stairis of his land on the west syde of Nudreis wynd, becaus the sam is contrair to guid nychtbourheid, and the kingis hie street is narrowet thairby; and the said Jhone beand personally present ansuerit and declairit that he wad nocht do the sam, thay mycht do as thai pleisit."[1]

The Church of St. Giles (as the subsequent illustrations show) was not only the centre of the religious life of Edinburgh, but was the centre of social, civic, and political life also. Its steeple was often used as a nightly watch against fire, and as an archive for preserving the muniments and valuable possessions of the town.

Two other features of the High Street riveted attention—the Town Cross and the Tron or weighing-beam. The Cross was coeval with the town's origin, and was originally a sanctuary in the days when might was right. It gradually lost its sacred association, however, and became a favourite lounging-place for idlers, and a desirable site for booths, until at last it was appropriated for purely secular uses. Professor Hume Brown states: "The wool merchant and cloth-maker make use of it as a convenient framework on which their materials might dry in the sun: there, on the spot most exposed to the general gaze, the public offender was struck with his paper-crown: there the fugitive criminal was publicly put to the horn, and from its steps were proclaimed the laws of the burgh and of the Kingdom."[2]

In the centre of the High Street, not far from the present Tron Kirk, and giving it the name, stood from ancient times the Tron or public beam for weighing merchandise, and generally styled in early deeds and writings the Salt Tron. The bird's-eye view of

[1] *Burgh Records* (1573–1589), p. 263.
[2] *Scotland in the Time of Queen Mary*, pp. 104, 105.

the siege of Edinburgh Castle, drawn in 1573, represents it in the form of a pillar mounted on steps, and with a beam and scales attached to it. The Butter Tron was further up the street, and the Over Tron, or Salt Tron, was evidently much used in connection with the salt industry, which was national, from the numbers it employed and the wealth it created. This trade was principally carried on along the shores of Fife, and was much aided by the sea and coal. During the reign of Charles I. the salt and coal industries were inseparable, and "10,000 persons were engaged in the working of both."

The Salt Tron was in the centre of the market-place, was granted along with the privilege of holding a market, and to it were brought to be weighed and measured, not only home commodities, but all merchandise brought to the town and district from foreign countries. No cargo arriving at Leith could be disposed of before being scrutinised and appraised at the Weigh-House of Edinburgh, and this was enacted with the purpose of protecting the lieges from knavish traders and merchants, and of exacting the customs, which accrued to the common good, and thence to the superior—king, baron, or ecclesiastic—from whom the community held its territory and derived its privileges. The following extracts from the *Burgh Records of Edinburgh* show the working of the old system :—

20*th July* 1547.—"It is statute and ordanit that all irne that beis inbrocht to this port of Leyth be brocht up to the Ovir Trone and weyit thairat in tyme cuming, vnder the payne of escheitt of the irne that beis fundin weyit in Leyth or vthers pairts by the said trone."

1*st December* 1548.—"It is statute and ordanit be the prouest baillies and counsale that all lint to be bocht in Leyth, and speciallie it that is bocht laitlie be certane merchants of this burgh, be brocht to the Ovir Trone and thair weyit, and nane to be abstractit nor haldin in tyme cuming, vnder the pane of escheitt."

2*nd September* 1552.—"Item, it is statute and ordanit be the

prouest baillies and counsale that all maner of personis strangeris that hes ony gudis inbrocht to the port of Leyth, chairgabill guidis that aucht to be weyit at the ouir trone, that the samyn be brocht to this burgh and thair weyit at the trone thair and the dewitie of the weying thairof to be payit to the custumaris of the pittie customes; and gif ony of the saidis guidis happynnis to be bocht be fremen of this burgh to the Frank pund greit or siclikewyis be weying thairof that the customar be payit of his dewteis of the heid of the guidis siclik as the samyn had bene weyit; and that na strangearis be thairselfis or vther is fremen of this burgh weyis ony guidis in Leyth or brocht hame be thame self or than bocht be thame fra straingeris vnder the pane of escheit thairof, and that na stapill guidis remane langer in Leyth nor thay may be caryit and brocht to Edinburgh vnder the pane foirsaid."

While greater crimes were expiated at the Cross, lesser offences of perjury and knavery had a discriminating scale of punishment awaiting them at the Tron; and here was the haunt of the immortal Jenny Geddes, of St. Giles fame—a veritable force in Scottish history. As around the Tron and the Weigh-House the trade and commerce of the town were conducted, so in the Tolbooth we find the centre of the civil business. The Edinburgh Tolbooth was at once the common prison, council-house, seat of the Supreme Courts of Justice, occasional meeting-place of the Privy Council, Parliament, and General Assembly.

Behind the houses in the High Street there stood a succession of other houses, mostly with their gable-ends towards the pathway, and with the invariable fore-stair as a means of access. The vennels were always the trouble of the municipal authorities, both from their being frequently blocked by miscellaneous obstacles, and, during times of attack, forming a source of weakness in defence. Says Professor Hume Brown: "If the enemy made his way through the frail town-dyke, he could pour his forces through the vennels, and make it impossible for the defenders to concentrate their efforts

in repelling them. Whenever there was the possibility of the town being attacked, therefore, the mandate went forth that every close and vennel should be built up. Whether the mandate was invariably obeyed or not, it would be difficult to say. At all events, the barriers were speedily demolished, and the vennels became the standing nuisance that they were."[1]

For illumination, every trader was ordered by the Council to fix a "bowet," or small lamp, to his booth, and the fore-stairs in the closes were to be similarly provided. The hardship, too, of scanty light at night was obviated by the rigorous law of the burgh, which enacted that after ten o'clock at night in winter every respectable person was supposed to be within doors. If any lawful errand took him out after that hour, he had to carry a bowet or candle to indicate to the watch that he had no sinister intentions, otherwise he was in danger of being conveyed to the "netherport incontinent." The peace of the burgh, and the prevention of evil-minded strangers entering the town, were ever before the magistrates, who supervised the "quarters."

"It was only," says Professor Hume Brown, "when the fair lasted that the town gave open welcome to all and sundry, and the universal system of exclusive dealing gave place to unlimited free trade."[2] On the appointed market days the dweller from the country proceeded to the burgh with his commodities, which were limited to raw materials, none but freemen of the burgh being allowed to practise a handicraft. His toll paid at the gate, he deposits his ware at the City Cross, where officials fix the price at which he is allowed to sell. This being done, he is permitted to take his place in the market—the hours and locality of which were defined by law.[3]

Not only the price of goods was fixed, but the quality was also tested, and for this object officials were annually chosen. Ale-tasters, wine-tasters, appraisers of bread and flesh and of every

[1] *Scotland in the Time of Queen Mary*, p. 109. [2] *Ibid.* p. 122.
[3] See p. 67.

product were present, and if the quality did not reach the necessary standard, the goods were destroyed or given to the lepers, who abounded in the community.

Edinburgh had the greatest difficulty in maintaining its foreign trade; and with regard to Leith, the capital exercised a jealous vigilance, which was met by a general evasion from the rival town. Says Professor Hume Brown: "Before a foreign-bound ship could leave the harbour of Leith, its owners, its skipper, and its freight were all alike subjected to the closest scrutiny by the Edinburgh authorities. The cargo had to be shipped in presence of the Dean of Guild, one bailie, one of the Town Council, and the town-clerk. Only the goods of freemen—that is, free burgesses of Edinburgh—were allowed to be shipped, and owners, skippers, and even passengers must be provided with a 'ticket' from the superior burgh. The regulations for incoming vessels were equally stringent. On the arrival of the vessel in port, its cargo was examined by deputed officials from Edinburgh, who, after putting a value upon it, saw that it was directly transported to the Market Cross of Edinburgh, for at the harbour itself no buying or selling was permitted. Deposited at the Cross, the wares were then disposed of to freemen in the first place, and after they were served, to unfreemen, at the price that had been officially determined."[1]

In the time of Queen Mary, as for centuries before, the chief industries in Scotland were the manufacture of cloth and plaiding, linen, yarn, and salt; and there was a deep line of cleavage which divided from each other the burgesses or freemen on the one hand, and the non-burgesses or unfreemen on the other. The latter had in Edinburgh on market days to take their place on the opposite side of the street from the freemen; and in Edinburgh, as well as in other royal burghs, there was a struggle between the crafts and the merchant guilds, ending in the same result, justified by reason and religion both—the incorporation of the crafts, wrung from the Town Councils, and sealed with the authority of the State.

[1] *Scotland in the Time of Queen Mary*, p. 132.

Such are some of the characteristics of the old Tron Parish, arising from the fact that the Tron was within it, and the market around it; but we must now leave the mart, and descend to the closes, with the purpose of recalling both their historical associations and the people who lived within them.

When Gavin Douglas was Provost of St. Giles, he translated the greater part of the *Æneid*, and here and there one finds a local allusion, as in the prologue to the seventh book, he refers to the Scottish winter, with its

> "Sharp soppis of sleit and of the snyppand snaw,
> The plane stretis and every hie way
> Full of fluschis, dubbis, myre and clay."

We have another reference, when he is warned that "the day is dawing" by the whistling of a sorry gled fast by his chamber window, glancing through:

> "Ane shot window unshut, a little ajar,
> Perseived the morning blae, wan and har . . .
> And as I bounit to the fire me by,
> Baith up and down the hous I did espy;
> And seeing Virgil on ane letteron stand
> To write anow I hynt my pen in hand!"

But he was before long not to overlook from his window the Cowgate, with the Pentland Hills beyond, but to be *in* it for a season, and taking part in history as well.

When Gavin Douglas was Provost of St. Giles, his official residence was in a house, on the site of which now stand the Parliament House and the Advocates' Library. Before this advancement, he had written his fine Allegory of "The Palace of Honour," and during his provostry he "gave to rude Scotland Virgil's page." But his translation to the bishopric of Dunkeld would lead to his residence in the Cowgate, opposite Blackfriars' Wynd. Bishop Lawder, the tutor of James II., purchased it for himself and his successors, to be within easy reach of Holyrood Palace; and George Brown, the poet's predecessor, added to the house a south

wing. "This episcopal dwelling," says Sir Daniel Wilson, "stood a little to the west of the old High School Wynd: and its gardens extended southward 'to the gait that leads to the Kirk-o'-Field,' the Infirmary Street of later times. Robertson's Close now marks the eastern boundary of the Bishop's grounds; and itself occupies the site of a tenement which in 1498 was bequeathed by Thomas Cameron to the chaplains of St. Catherine's altar in St. Giles' Church." When John Knox was summoned to appear in the Blackfriars' Church on 15th May 1556, and his opponents abandoned their projected attack through fear, we are told "The said Johne, the same day of the summondis, tawght in Edinburgh in a greattar audience than ever befoir he had done in that toune. The place was the Bischop of Dunkellis, his great loodging, whare he continued in doctrin ten dayis, both befoir and after noone." But the vicinity of the Bishop of Dunkeld's lodging to the old archiepiscopal palace of the Beatons at the foot of Blackfriars' Wynd not only points back to the day when in the Cowgate "were the palaces belonging to the princes of the land, nothing there being humble or rustic, but all magnificent," but it helps to illustrate a familiar scene connected with the famous faction fight styled "Cleanse the Causey." The country was divided between the Douglas or Angus party and the Hamiltons, and Edinburgh became the scene of faction fights bordering on civil war. The Earl of Arran and the chief adherents of the Hamilton faction assembled secretly in the near monastery of the Blackfriars on 30th April 1520, to mature a scheme for the capture of the Earl of Angus and the overthrow of the Douglases. Gavin Douglas, hearing of the conspiracy, proceeded as a minister of peace to the Archbishop's residence, and as a member of the House of Douglas, sought to avert the conflict. The Archbishop was in armour, though under cover of his rochet, and was urged by every noble motive to prevent the strife. Beaton excused himself, and protested that on his conscience he could not avert it. Thereupon he struck his breast in the heat of asseveration and betrayed the presence of the concealed coat of mail, whereupon

Gavin Douglas retorted, "How now, my Lord? methinks your conscience clatters!"

The bishop had his revenge. A furious battle of the barricades ensued on the High Street between the Arrans and the Anguses, and William Douglas, the brother of the Earl, stormed the Netherbow Port at the head of a band of Humes and Douglases, and turned the scale against the aggressors. Beaton and the Hamiltons were routed, and the Master of Montgomery, heir to the earldom of Eglinton, Sir Patrick Hamilton, the Earl of Angus' brother, with nearly eighty of their followers, were left dead on the street. The Earl himself narrowly escaped through the marshes of the Nor' Loch, and the Archbishop, who through the fray "flew about in armour like a firebrand of sedition," took sanctuary in vain within the Church of the Blackfriars near by his residence. "Bishop James Beatoun," says Pitscottie, "fled to the Black Frear Kirk, and thair was takin out behind the altar, and his rockit riven aff him, and had beine slaine, had not beine Mr. Gavin Douglass requeisted for him, saying it was shame to put hand on ane consecrat bishop." Such were the strange vicissitudes of the age, and such was also the righteous indignation following his treachery that Beaton is believed to have escaped the vengeance of the Douglases during their triumph of 1525 by literally exchanging his crozier for a shepherd's crook, and tending a flock of sheep upon Bogrian-knowe, not far from his own diocesan capital.[1]

The old Cowgate palace is now a historic memory of Blackfriars' Street, although both time and rude hands make allusion to it now seem almost a rude jest. This old palace was occupied both by the Archbishop and his more celebrated nephew the Cardinal, and pleasure-grounds were attached to it, extending over the space between Blackfriars' and Todrick's Wynds. The exterior angle of the building towards the Cowgate, with hexagonal turret rising from an ornamental stone pillar, formed a picturesque feature in the old Cowgate; beyond it was seen "the ancient vennel of the preaching

[1] Wilson's *Memorials*, ii. 136.

friars, with its timber-fronted tenements projecting storey above storey till their carved eaves nodded greetings to the crow-stepped gables on the other side of the way." It originally enclosed a small quadrangle, nearly the whole of the ground floor was substantially arched with stone, resting on solid piers, and the entrance to the inner court was by an arched passage from Blackfriars' Wynd. It belonged to the sixteenth century, and was erected by James Beaton, who was Lord High Treasurer in 1505, Archbishop of Glasgow in 1509, and Archbishop of St. Andrews in 1522. Over his Blackfriars' Wynd Palace, as over the one at Glasgow, which he enlarged and beautified, his armorial bearings were conspicuously displayed. Sir Daniel Wilson adds: "We find from the early titles of the property, that the Archbishop's residence and grounds included not only the buildings between Blackfriars' and Todrick's Wynds, but the whole of the site now occupied by the ancient buildings of the Mint: so that there can be little doubt that extensive gardens were attached to his lodging in the capital. An inspection of the back wall of the Mint in Todrick's Wynd confirms the idea of its having succeeded to a more ancient building of considerable architectural pretensions; as, on minute examination, various carved stones were observed built up among the materials of the rubble work."[1]

"The archiepiscopal palace belonging to the see of St. Andrews," as Maitland calls it, was evidently the most sumptuous private mansion in the town, and here Beaton practised the hospitable offices of the churchman and political leader on a fitting scale. In 1528 James v., when liberated from the Douglas faction, took up his abode, with the Archbishop as entertainer and host; and in 1561, when Queen Mary arrived from France, she was accompanied by the grand prior M. Dornell, the Marquis d'Elbaeuf, a brother of Mary of Guise, M. d'Amville, and other French nobles; and on 24th August, on the eve of their departure, they were entertained at a banquet provided by "the toun of Edinburgh in ane honourable maner, within the lugeing sumtyme pertenying to the Cardinal."

[1] Wilson's *Memorials*, ii. 135.

BLACKFRIARS WYND, 1837.

Here, too, the Queen was herself entertained and graciously received the young men of the town. "Upoun the nynt day of Februar at evin, the Queenis grace and the remanent lordis come up in ane honourabil maner fra the palice of Halyrudhous, to the Cardinallis ludging in the Blak Freir Wynd, quhilk was preparit and hung maist honourable, and there her Hienes sowpit and the rest with her; and efter supper the honest young men in the toun come with ane convoy to her." The engraving of the wynd in 1637 still shows the old avenue that was lighted up with the torches of Queen Mary's attendants, as she returned to Holyrood on the fatal 5th of February 1567 from her last interview with Darnley at the Kirk of the Field, while Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell and his emissaries, carrying the gunpowder, slipped past by the next alley of Todrick's Close.[1] In 1588 a similar contest to "Cleanse the Causey" took place in the wynd, between the retainers of the Earl of Bothwell and Sir William Stewart, when the latter was slain by his rival; and again in 1668, when Archbishop Sharpe was seated in his coach at the head of the wynd, waiting for the Bishop of Orkney, who evidently lived in the wynd, Mitchell aimed a pistol at the Primate, and the contents, missing him, dangerously wounded the Bishop of Orkney, who at the time was stepping into the coach.

Blackfriars' Wynd was thus one of the most historical spots in Edinburgh, but its old houses passed into such ruin and desertion, that they came under the City Improvement Scheme of Dr. William Chambers. The inhabitants of the new street to-day are again in strange contrast to those of former days, and it is sometimes a relief for one, who works amid the widely prevailing poverty, to revert in thought to the days of old, and recall their memories.

On the west side, near the head of the wynd, a decorated lintel with "in the Lord is my Hope, 1564," points to a building which afterwards formed a place of worship for the adherents of the Covenanted Kirk at the Revolution Settlement, and was known so late as 1798 "as the Auld Cameronian Meeting-House"; near

[1] *Romantic Edinburgh*, p. 96.

it was the ancient mansion of the Earls of Morton, and, says Sir Daniel Wilson, "the portion of the wynd below this old mansion included, along with the building of 1564, another which was long used as a Roman Catholic chapel in times when scanty toleration was extended to the worshippers of the old faith. This is an antique stone fabric, from which a curiously projecting timber front was removed only a few years before its desertion as a place of worship. On the fifth flat of this tenement, approached by a steep and narrow turnpike stair, a large chamber was consecrated to the worship of the Roman Catholic Church during the greater part of the eighteenth century, and probably earlier. When we last visited this primitive retreat of 'Old Giant Pope, after the many shrewd brushes that he met with in his younger days,' there still remained painted in simple fashion on one of the doors immediately below the chapel the name of the old bishop, Mr. Hay. This was the once celebrated opponent of Bishop William Abernethy Drummond, of the Scottish Episcopal Church, under the name of G. H., and well worthy of note in the history of the locality as the last of the Bishops of Blackfriars' Wynd, where the proudest nobles of Scotland were wont of old to give place to the dignitaries of the church."[1]

Bishop Abernethy Drummond was the husband of the heiress of Hawthornden, and was active in obtaining the repeal of the statutes against his Church. "Some wag," records Chambers, "figuring the surprise in high places at a stir arising from a quarter so obscure, penned this epigram:

> "'Lord Sydney, to the privy-council summoned,
> By testy majesty was questioned quick:
> Eh, eh! who, who's this Abernethy Drummond,
> And where, in the Heaven's name, is his bishopric?'"[2]

Nearly opposite stood another ancient tenement, the upper storey of which was used as a Roman Catholic Chapel, dedicated to St. Andrew, and formed the chief Roman Catholic centre of worship until 1813, when it was abandoned for the handsome structure in

[1] *Memorials*, ii. 61.

[2] *Traditions*, p. 251.

Broughton Street. "Men of ancient lineage were wont to assemble among the worshippers, and during the abode of the royal exiles at Holyrood Palace, Count d'Artois, the future occupant of the French throne, with the Princes and their attendants, usually formed part of the congregation." While an internal staircase formed the entrance for the priests, the public access was by a projecting stone staircase, which formed the approach to the different floors of the building. At the corner of the Cowgate, on the west side of Blackfriars' Wynd, also stood the Episcopal Chapel, founded in 1722 by Lord Chief Baron Smith for a congregation in communion with the Church of England, and who, in contradistinction to the nonjuring Scottish Episcopal Church, recognised in their liturgy the reigning sovereign and the Hanoverian dynasty. The following is an extract from the will of Baron Smith: "and my will and intent further is, that no minister shall be capable of officiating in the said Chapell, who is not conformable to the said liturgy and usage of the Church of England, and who is not qualified by taking the oath to the Government, and who shall not expressly by name pray for His present Majesty King George and those who shall succeed him to the crown of Great Britain." The congregation in Blackfriars' Wynd was therefore a "qualified" congregation. Their church was attended by the rank and fashion of Edinburgh, and Johnson joined in its worship in 1773, when residing with Boswell. It is now represented by the beautiful structure of St. Paul's Chapel in York Place. Baron Smith's Chapel probably stood on the site of the old town mansion of William St. Clair, Earl of Orkney, and the founder of Roslin Chapel, who maintained his court at Roslin Castle with kingly magnificence, and brought his splendour with him, when he resided at the foot of Blackfriars' Wynd. One must make an allowance for the language of exaggeration, but Father Hay at least preserves some residuum of truth when he states that St. Clair never sat down to a meal that "was not served in gold or silver vessels." Lord Dirleton was the master of the household, Lord Borthwick was his cup-bearer, Lord Fleming his carver, and men of ancient

rank acted as their deputies! His Countess was waited on by seventy-five gentlewomen, fifty-three of whom were daughters of noblemen; and Father Hay adds: "all were clothed in velvets and silks, with their chains of gold and other pertinents: togither with two hundred riding gentlemen, who accompanied her in all her journeys. She had carried before her, when she went to Edinburgh, if it were dark, eighty lighted torches. Her lodging was at the foote of Blackfryer Wynde: so that, in a worde, none matched her in all the country, save the Queen's Majesty."[1]

Blackfriars' Wynd was in ancient days a patrician street, and the accurate and learned Sir Andrew Wilson adds: "the richest group of mottoes to be found on any building in Edinburgh formed the decorations on the architrave of a decayed old land on the east side, near the head of the wynd."[2] The building above this was the town residence of the Clerks of Penicuick; it was previously the residence of Alexander, fifth Lord Home, who entertained Queen Mary and Lord Darnley in his lodging "near the Tron" in 1565, and who turned the destiny of Langside at the head of his Border spearmen. He was made captive in 1573, and detained as such, while his brave companions suffered on the scaffold. After a tedious captivity, the Diurnal of Occurrents states, "upoun the secund day of Junij (1575) Alexander Lord Home wes relevit out of the Castell of Edinburgh, and *wardit* in his awne lugeing in the heid of the Freir Wynd, quha wes carijt thairto in ane bed, be reasone of his great infirmitie of sickness."[3]

About the middle of the wynd, on the east side, and entered by a lane, was the town residence of the Lauderdale family, now used as part of the Roman Catholic Schools. The Lauderdales were members of the Tron Kirk, and their former connection, as well as that of the Tweeddales, with the church is still indicated by the Lauderdale and Tweeddale pews, the rents of which are, through the kindness of their representatives, given to the kirk-session for the support of work in the parish and church.

[1] *Genealogie*, p. 26. [2] *Memorials*, ii. 62; cf. p. 38. [3] P. 348.

Blackfriars' Wynd became in the eighteenth century an educational centre, and was long afterwards the neighbourhood of a population more like those of its pristine days than those of the latter half of the nineteenth century. In the *Edinburgh Gazette* of 19th April 1703 is the following:—"There is a Boarding-school to be set up in Blackfriars' Wynd, in Robinson's land, upon the west side of the wynd, near the middle thereof, in the first door of the stair leading to the said land, against the latter end of May, or first of June next, where young ladies and gentlewomen may have all sorts of breeding that is to be had in any part of Britain, and great care taken of their conversation." It was either here or in another school within the wynd that Sir Walter Scott's mother was educated, and from his own pen we have an interesting account of it.

Sir Walter Scott thus writes (1825) regarding the "Boarding School in Blackfriars' Wynd for Young Ladies": "This was kept in the middle of the last century by a well-known lady, Mrs. Effie Sinclair, of the family of Longformacus in Berwickshire, and connected with some of the most ancient Houses in Scotland. My late mother was bred with this respectable Lady, and in the same seminary was the beautiful Miss Duff, afterwards Countess of Dumfries and Stair, and by a recent marriage Lady of the Honble. Alexr. Gordon, Lord Rockville. She was sister of Sir William Duff, Bart., British Consul at Cadiz. Also the late amiable and excellently informed Mrs. Murray Keith, sister of Sir Robert Murray Keith, commonly called Ambassador Keith, from his diplomatic services. Also two Miss Humes of Linthill. All these ladies continued to be great friends during life, and used to speak with the utmost respect of Mrs. Effie, to whom, by the by, they were all Scottish Cousins. And to judge by the proficiency of her scholars, although much of what is called accomplishment might be then left untaught, she must have been possessed of uncommon talents for education. All these ladies had well-cultivated minds, were fond of reading and wrote and spelled admirably, were acquainted with history and with belles-lettres, without neglecting the more homely

labour of the needle and the accompt book. Two of them were women of extraordinary talents, and all of them were perfectly well bred in society.

"Mrs. Nicky Murray was tolerably or perhaps intolerably aristocratic. Seeing a person at an assembly, who was born in a low condition, and raised by wealth acquired in some mechanical profession, Mrs. Nicky, without paying the slightest respect to a very fine laced coat, walked up to him, taxed him with presumption for coming there, and fairly turned him out of the room. On the other hand, some remained without in the lobby, who were certainly well entitled to be in the room. Such was Lord Kirkcudbright, who literally sold gloves in the lobby—except on the day of the Peers' election which concluded with a ball. Lord K., reversing the freemason's song,

> "'Great King and Dukes and Lords
> Have laid by their swords,'

did on the contrary on that sole festival assume his sword, lay aside his apron, and become one of the company whom he usually served with gloves. Goldsmith in a letter from Edinburgh writes in some such style as this, 'One day happening to step into Lord Kilcolry's —don't be surprised his Lordship is only a glover.'"[1]

The old Blackfriars' Wynd, now erased and transformed into the modern Blackfriars' Street, dated from 1230, and formed the approach from the High Street to the Dominican Monastery, founded by Alexander II. It stood on the site of the old High School. This foundation formed for a time a royal residence, is styled in the foundation charters, Mansio Regis, appears to have been a wealthy foundation, and was enlarged by gifts from Robert I., James III., as well as by many private donations confirmed by the latter king in 1473. It was accidentally burned in 1528, but the church, cruciform with central tower and lofty spire, appears in the view of 1544. The Duke of Somerset in 1544, and the reformers of 1558, completed its destruction.

[1] *Letters of Sir Walter Scott to Kirkpatrick Sharpe and Robert Chambers*, pp. 60–62.

Its founder, Alexander II., in 1230, endowed it with certain royal burghal revenues, and with the vennel styled thenceforward the Blackfriars' Vennel, which was the residence of nobles and ecclesiastics and a favourite walk of the people of Edinburgh towards the Borough Muir. In a walk down it about the beginning of the sixteenth century, one passed the palaces of Beaton and Bishop Gavin Douglas, and ascending the old High School Wynd (with the convent of St. Mary de Placentia in the Cowgate below) reached the House of the Blackfriars, just described. The sumptuous buildings and extensive gardens spread over the ridge to the boundaries of the Kirk o' Field on the west, while those of the provost and prebendaries of the Blessed Mary-in-the-Fields occupied the remainder of the slope ridge which stretched away from the Cowgate ravine southward to the Borough Muir. West of this again was the Monastery of the Greyfriars in the Grassmarket, wherein Mary of Gueldres lodged before her marriage with James II.; where were hospitably entertained the fugitive Henry VI. of England, Queen Margaret of Anjou, and their son Prince Edward, and the gardens of which, transformed into a churchyard shortly after the Reformation, may be justly called the Westminster Abbey of Scotland. The Kirk o' Field to which the Blackfriars' Vennel led, was a dependency of Holyrood Abbey, and was created a Collegiate Church towards the close of the fifteenth century, with a provost, eight prebendaries, two choristers, and a hospital for poor bedemen. Its enclosure within the Flodden Wall failed to protect it from the Duke of Somerset in 1547, and it was reduced to ruins in 1558. It was the scene of the murder of Darnley by Bothwell and his accomplices on 9th February 1567, when the provost's house, where he lodged, was blown into the air with gunpowder. "It appears in the view of 1544 as a large cross church with a lofty central tower; and the general accuracy of this representation is confirmed by the correspondence of the tower to another view of it taken immediately after the murder of Darnley, when the church was in ruins. The latter drawing, evidently made in order to convey an

accurate idea of the scene of the murder to the English Court, is preserved in the State Paper Office."[1] The ruined hospice was sold to the Duke of Chatelherault for a mansion (the buildings supplying materials), and the Council purchased this before long as the home for the Town College—the veritable child of the Reformed Church, which, like the Church, arose from the impulse of Knox. In him and his successors it had a noble parentage.

Beyond the Kirk o' Field stretched the Borough Muir, with its forest glades, away to St. Giles' Grange in the hollow below Blackford and the Braid Hills; and pursuing the path, the walk led through the glades to the ancient chapel of St. Roque—the special place of pilgrimage for sufferers from ulcers, boils, and the plague, and which King James visited on the saint's day, 26th August 1507, the very year when Chepman was setting up his printing-press. In another opening of the glade, a little east of the present "Lover's Loan," stood the chapel of St. John the Baptist, founded by Sir John Crawford, Canon of St. Giles, in 1512. It appears to have afterwards become the chapel of the Convent of St. Catherine of Sienna, founded by "ane noble and wise lady" Lady Janet, daughter of the first Earl of Hepburn, and widow of George, fifth Lord Seton, who fell at Flodden. The nuns followed the rule of St. Dominic (the name "Sciennes" still preserves their fragrant memory), and chastity, driven at that time out of the religious houses, fled to the "Burough-muir besouth Edinburgh," and found a welcome from the noble and virtuous ladies in the House of Catherine of Sienna. This was the last foundation of the adherents of the old faith, and in 1544 the convent suffered from the violence of the English, and in 1567 the whole possessions passed into the hands of laymen. The name of the house still bears a fragrance with it, and of "Chastitie," which at that time in other places "na langer wald abyde," the poet could sing:

> "Thare hes scho fund his mother Povertie,
> And Devotioun her awin sister carnall:

[1] *Memorials*, ii. 246.

Thare hath scho fund Faith, Hope, and Charitie,
Togidder with the vertue cardinall:
Thare hes scho fund ane convent, yet unthrall,
To dame Sensuall, nor with Riches abasit,
Sa quietlye those ladyis bene inclusit."

The land was given to the convent by Sir John Crawford, Canon of St. Giles; the Douglases of Glenbervie and the Lauders of Bass, joined with the Setons in procuring the Bull of Pope Leo x. in 1517, while John Cant and his wife Agnes Kerkettel were also contributors.

We have been considering the chapels, convents, and religious houses which the citizens of the High Street in the sixteenth century walking from the Blackfriars' Wynd to the Borough Muir saw, but the names of the last two benefactors at once recall us to the Tron Parish and the Cowgate. The name of John Cant is still perpetuated in Cant's Close, which runs parallel to Blackfriars' Wynd from the High Street to the Cowgate. Sir Daniel Wilson states "the initials of the old citizen and his spouse were to be seen on two shields under the crow-stepped gables of a tall land down the close on the south side of the High Street which still perpetuates his name,"[1] but the close has been much changed. It was, however, an Amen Court in pre-Reformation days, and "the fore-land at the head of the close was the town-lodging of the provost of the Collegiate Church of Crichton," which was erected into a college in 1449 by Sir William Crichton, Lord Chancellor of Scotland. In a deed of 1582 the close is described as "the haus of the prebendaries of the Kirk of Crichton." Chambers reproduces the picture of an old mansion, situated on the west side of the close, of sixteenth century style and picturesque in character.[2] The stone pillars of the gateway were decorated with balls at the top. In later days the Dowager Lady Gray lived in this close and made it "a fashionable resort." Opposite to the provost of Crichton's house, on the east side, with an entrance from the High Street by

[1] *Reminiscences*, ii. 298.

[2] *Traditions*, p. 243.

Strichen's Close, was the town mansion of the Abbot of Melrose. Here resided Andrew Durie, nominated Abbot by James v. in 1526, and whose death, according to Knox, was occasioned by his terror at the memorable uproar at St. Giles on the saint's day, 1558. "The mansion of the Abbots of Melrose," says Sir Daniel Wilson, "is a large and substantial stone building, enclosing a square or court in the centre, the original access to which seems to have disappeared. The whole building has evidently undergone great alterations: and over one of the doorways a carved stone bears a large and very boldly cut shield, with two coats of arms impaled, and the date 1600. There seems no reason to doubt, however, that the main portion of the Abbot's residence still remains. The lower story is strongly vaulted, and is evidently the work of an early date. The small quadrangle also is quite in character with the period assumed for the building. A greatly defaced carving on the lintel of the doorway appears to have been a representation of the Virgin and Child: and as such accords with the device repeated on the capitular seats of the Abbey. At the north-west angle of the Abbot's lodging, where the gable is surmounted by a curiously carved finial combining the rose and fleur-de-lis, a grotesque gargoyle of antique form serves as a gutter to the roof."[1] This house was afterwards inhabited by two Tron Kirk members, by Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh, King's Advocate for Scotland after the Restoration,[2] in the seventeenth century, and by Lord Strichen in the eighteenth. The former's connection with it gave the close the name of "Rosehaugh Close," while the latter's residence gave the name it still bears—"Strichen's Close."[3]

Between Strichen's Close and the west corner of Blackfriars' Wynd stood a handsome stone fabric, which up to the nineteenth century was the "residence of people of rank." Here died, in 1796, Lady Lovat, the niece of the first Duke of Argyll and the widow of the notorious Simon, Lord Lovat, who was beheaded on Tower Hill in 1747. Nothing but misery and cruelty attended her

[1] *Memorials*, ii. 56. [2] See p. 219. [3] See p. 179.

marriage, yet when political perfidy brought him to the Tower, his wife, forgetting all her past wrongs, offered to come to London and attend him. He declined the proposal, and his letter was said to have contained the only expression of kindness and regard which she had ever received from him since her marriage. The ancient title-deeds of this tenement show that its original proprietor was Walter Chepman, the Scottish Caxton, who in 1508, with Andrew Myllar, set up the first printing-press in Scotland. Not only did the first printer live in the Tron Parish, but his press was situated within it also, "in the Southgait (now Cowgate), at the foot of Blackfriars' Wynd."[1] Chepman died in 1528 or 1529, and thus for twenty years lived and worked in Blackfriars' Wynd. The press was set up under patent granted by James IV., 15th September 1507. His son David, the bookbinder, received in March 1539 from the King's Treasurer ten shillings scots "for binding and laying about with gold the queen's matin buke." To return to the father, two books, *Ulric in personas* (1508?) and the *Breviarium Aberdonense* (1509–10), bear his name alone, and the following is the complete list, given by the latest authority, of the first books in Scotland that issued from Chepman and Myllar's hands in the Blackfriars' Street Printing Shop:[2]—

Buke of good counsale to the King [1508?].
Chaucer. *The maying or disport of Chaucer.*
Donatus [ab. 1508? printed in Scotland?].
Dunbar. *The ballade of . . . lord Barnard Stewart,* 1508?
,, *The goldyn targe,* 1508?
,, *The twa marrit wemen and the wedo* [1508? printed in Scotland?]
Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedy, 1508?
Henry the Minstrel. Acts . . . of Sir William Wallace, 1508?
Henryson (Robt.). *The traitie of Orpheus,* 1508?
Knightly tale of Golagros and Gawane.

[1] *Books Printed in Scotland before* 1700 (H. G. Aldis), p. 111. [2] *Ibid.* p. 1.

Porteous of noblenes.
Syr Eglamoure of Artoys, 1508?
[*Ulric in personas*], 1508?

To the east of Blackfriars' Wynd on the High Street as it approached the Netherbow was the mansion of Lord President Fentonbarns, who, although of humble descent, won by his abilities the highest of offices and the esteem of his contemporaries. The adjoining alley, called Todrick's Wynd, contained the "lodging" of John Cockburn, Laird of Ormiston, where Bothwell and his accomplices met on 9th February 1567, while Queen Mary spent her last evening with her husband. After having had notice that the Queen and her attendants had passed up Blackfriars' Wynd, the conspirators made their way down Todrick's Wynd and up through the gate of the Blackfriars' Monastery Gate to the Kirk o' Field, where they fired the powder by which Darnley and his servant Taylor were killed. Going further east, we come to South Gray's Close, the ground of which belonged originally to the Monastery of the Greyfriars. On the first flat of South Gray's or the Mint Close lived the Earl of Buchan,[1] and here were born his two famous sons, as the tablet on the front wall deservedly indicates. Here is the inscription:

"In this house were born
the Hon. HENRY ERSKINE,
Lord Advocate of Scotland,
b. 1746—*d.* 1817,
and
THOMAS, LORD ERSKINE,
Lord Chancellor of England,
b. 1749—*d.* 1823."

"No poor man wanted a Friend, while
Harry Erskine lived."

[1] See p. 316.

"A humorous piece of satire upon Dr. Carlyle and the opposition he has uniformly met with from the leading men of the popular party. The uppermost head on the hydra is that of Professor Dalzel of the University of Edinburgh; the one below it, that of the Rev. Dr. John Erskine of Carnock, Minister of Old Greyfriars' Church, intended for the bar by his father, but his own inclination was for the pulpit; the undermost head, that of the much esteemed Rev. Dr. Andrew Hunter of the Tron Kirk; and the figure with the hand up, cautioning Dr. Carlyle, that of the Hon. Henry Erskine."—*From Kay's Portraits.*

No better eulogy could be passed than this on Lord Advocate Henry Erskine, and "nothing," said Lord Cockburn, "was so sour as not to be sweetened by the glance, the gaiety, the beauty of Henry Erskine."[1]

About half-way down the close on the east side stood the old mansion, which was successively occupied by the Earls of Stirling, Hyndford, and Selkirk.[2] The Hyndford was a Scottish peerage, not without its glories—the third Earl of Hyndford having acted as ambassador in succession to Prussia, Russia, and Vienna. Hyndford's Close formed the main entrance to the house, and was a celebrated one. "The entry and stair at the head of the close on the west side was a favourite residence, on account of the ready access to it from the street." On the second floor lived Lady Maxwell of Monreith, and there brought up her beautiful daughters, one of whom became Duchess of Gordon. "The house," says Chambers, "had a dark passage, and the kitchen door was passed in going to the dining-room, according to an agreeable old practice in Scotch houses, which lets the guests know on entering what they have to expect."[3] Miss Eglintoune, afterwards Lady Wallace, used to be sent with the tea-kettle across the street to the Fountain Well for water to make tea; and it is narrated by an eye-witness that he saw Jane, afterwards Duchess of Gordon, riding upon a sow, which was being thumped with a stick by Miss Eglintoune! The sow was one of those belonging to Peter Ramsay of St. Mary's Wynd Inn, whose herd were among the last permitted to roam at large.

On the same stair in Hyndford's Close lived Anne, Countess of Balcarres, whose eldest daughter Anne was authoress of "Auld Robin Gray," and she had as a neighbour Dr. Rutherford,[4] the maternal grandfather of Sir Walter Scott, who wrote regarding it: "I remember all the *locale* of Hyndford's Close perfectly, even to the Indian screen, with Harlequin and Columbine and the harpsichord, though I never had the pleasure of hearing Lady Anne

[1] Jeffrey's *Life*, i. 93.
[2] See p. 317.
[3] *Traditions*, p. 298.
[4] See p. 171.

play upon it. I suppose the close, once too clean to soil the hem of your ladyship's garment, is now the resort for the lowest mechanics—and so wears the world away. . . . It is, to be sure, more picturesque to lament the desolation of towers and hills and haughs, than the degradation of an Edinburgh close: but I cannot help thinking on the simple and cosie retreats where worth and talent, and elegance to boot, were often nestled, and which now are the resort of misery, filth, poverty, and vice." [1]

Sir Walter Scott was born on 15th August 1771 in his father's house at the head of College Wynd—a house which, as he himself states, was pulled down to make room for the northern front of the University,[2] but his mother and grandfather were members of the Tron Kirk, his mother was educated in Blackfriars' Street, and his birthplace was *within* the old boundary of the Tron Parish. He frequently attended the Tron Kirk, and it is a pleasant memory in the parish that he passed along Blackfriars' Street as a boy on his way from the old High School to his grandfather's house in Hyndford's Close. It is interesting to recall that the High School was associated with the early buddings of his poetic genius, for among the papers of Dr. Adam, the rector, were found two metrical school exercises, bearing the designation, "Walter Scott, July 1783":

ON A THUNDER-STORM.

"Loud o'er my head though awful thunder roll,
And vivid lightnings flash from pole to pole,
Yet 'tis Thy voice, my God, that bids them fly,
Thy arm directs those lightnings through the sky.
Then let the good Thy mighty name revere,
And hardened sinners Thy just vengeance fear."

ON THE SETTING SUN.

"Those beauteous clouds, that setting ray
And beauteous tints serve to display
Their great Creator's praise:

[1] *Lives of the Lindsays*, iii. 190.

[2] Lockhart's *Life*, p. 4.

Then let the short-lived thing call'd man,
Whose life comprised within a span,
To Him his homage raise.
We often praise the evening clouds,
And tints so gay and bold,
But seldom think upon our God,
Who tinged these clouds with gold."[1]

Dr. Rutherford's house in Hyndford's Close had also a later association with the youthful Thomas Chalmers, who lodged within it in 1799 on his first arrival as a student in Edinburgh, and during the "ten years' conflict" between Church and State, when the General Assembly met in the Tron Church,[2] most of his important speeches were delivered in the Parish Church of the parish where he lived in college days. The adjacent South Foulis Close contained the residence and establishment of Thomas Bassendyne, and thence issued his beautiful folio Bible in 1574. Bassendyne was said to have worked in Paris and Leyden before commencing business in Edinburgh, and in March 1564 John Scot's confiscated "irins" were delivered to him by order of the Town Council. It seems probable that he did not begin to print until 1571–72, and that Scot printed for him before that date. In 1574–75 he undertook with Arbuthnot the printing of his folio edition, and died in 1577. Near the close stood the Fountain well after which it was called. On the east side of the close, opposite Bassendyne's, was the house of Adam Fullerton, who was an influential citizen in the reign of Mary, and an active coadjutor of Edward Hope in the cause of the Reformation. This tenement of the stout-hearted old burgher of Queen Mary's day, with its apt inscriptions carved in grateful acknowledgment of triumph in a good cause, presents special claims of interest, associated as it is with so important a period of national history. Referring to the mottoes above his door, Sir Daniel Wilson adds: "the *vincit veritas* of Adam Fullerton acquires a new force when we consider the circumstances

[1] Lockhart's *Life*, p. 27 ; Stevens' *High School of Edinburgh*, p. 131.
[2] See pp. 333–338.

that dictated it, and the desperate struggle in which he had borne a part before he returned to carve it over the threshold so recently held by his enemies. To this he added the pious aphorisms, 'Only · Be · Cryst' and 'Aryis · O · Lord,' and coupled with his own name that of his wife, Marjory Roger, the partner in his trials and his triumph."[1]

The Tweeddale family were members of the Tron Kirk,[2] and to the east of Adam Fullerton's tenement was the close which led to the Tweeddale Mansion at the foot of it. Defoe mentions it among the principal buildings of Edinburgh, with a plantation of lime trees behind it, the place not allowing room for a large garden."[3] The builder and first occupant was Dame Margaret Ker, Lady Yester, third daughter of Mark, first Earl of Lothian.[4] She was born in 1572, and founded the Church that bears her name. She presented the house to her grandson, John, second Earl of Tweeddale. The last occupant of the house was the fourth Marquis, who held the office of Secretary of State for Scotland from 1742 until its abolition. The defect, mentioned by Defoe, must have been remedied, for the fine old gardens descended by a succession of ornamental terraces to the Cowgate, and were destroyed to make way for the Cowgate Chapel, "now also forsaken by its original founders." The house became the property of the British Linen Company's Bank, and close to the mouth of the court in 1806 were perpetrated the robbery and murder of Begbie, the bank porter, who was stabbed to the heart by an undiscovered assassin, while passing in with £4392 from the Leith Branch. Tweeddale house now forms the publishing premises of Oliver & Boyd. At this east corner of the old Tron parish also lived Robert Lekprevik, another early Scottish printer, and Archbishop Sharpe. Regarding the house of the latter, Nicoll tells us that the newly consecrated bishops on 8th May 1662, "being all convenit in the Bishop of St. Androis hous near to the Neddir Bow, come up all in their gownis, and come to the Parliament, quha were reseivit with much

[1] *Memorials*, ii. 71. [2] See pp. 148, 181, 319. [3] *Tour*, iv. 86. [4] See p. 89.

A VIEW OF THE NETHERBOW PORT OF EDINBURGH FROM THE WEST.
The Eastern Boundary of the Tron Parish.

honour, being convoyit fra the Archbishop of Sant Androis hous with 2 erles, viz., the Erle of Killie and the Erle of Weymis." Near this lodging William Falconer, the author of *The Shipwreck*, is believed to have been born about 1730.

Defoe thus describes the High Street of Edinburgh in his *Journey*:[1]—

"The High Street of Edinburgh, running by an easy ascent from the Netherbow to the Castle, a good half mile, is doubtless the stateliest Street in the World, being broad enough for five Coaches to drive up abreast: and the Houses on each side are proportionably high to the broadness of the Street: all of them six or seven story high, and those mostly of free stone, makes this Street very august."

The Netherbow Port, which terminated the vista of the High Street, both separated the City and the ancient burgh of the Canongate, as well as the old Tron Parish from that of the Canongate. It had been rebuilt in its latest form in 1606, was by far the most conspicuous of the six gates that gave entrance to Edinburgh, and was regarded as an object with which the honour of the City was wrapt up. It bore resemblance to the ancient Porte, St. Honoré of Paris, and was unfortunately demolished by the Town Council in 1764, amid the rage of the period for destroying venerable fabrics as *old rubbish*. And thus the ancient Temple Bar of Edinburgh disappeared—the ancient City Cross having been removed a little earlier. Luckily the latter found a restorer in Mr. Gladstone.

Coming to the eastern outskirt of the old parish, we descend St. Mary's Wynd, regarding which Spottiswoode remarks: "In the chartularies of St. Giles, the nuns of St. Mary's Wynd in the City of Edinburgh are recorded. The chapel and convent stood near to the walls of the garden belonging at present to the Marquis of Tweeddale, and from its being consecrated to the Virgin Mary, the street took its name which it still retains."[2]

[1] P. 65.

[2] *Religious Houses* (1755), p. 283.

The site of this foundation was on the west side of the wynd, which led by the outskirts of the town to the Convent of St. Mary of Placentia, and to the Hospital of St. Leonard's. Opposite the St. Mary's Wynd Convent site was the house of James Norie, the decorator of the earlier part of the eighteenth century and the earliest Scottish landscape painter.

The Pleasance and St. Mary's Wynd formed the approach to Edinburgh by one of the great roads from the south of Scotland, and here were several of the leading inns. During the Commonwealth troubles and Cromwell's invasion, Nicoll reports that "the toun demolished the haill houssis in St. Marie Wynd, that the enemy sould haif no schelter thair, bot that thai mycht haif frie pas to thair cannoun, quhilk thai haid moutit upone the Neddir Bow."[1] At the foot of the wynd was the Cowgate Port, constructed with the extended wall of 1513; while at a later period another was erected across the wynd at its junction with the Pleasance, and known as St. Mary's or Pleasance Port. Towards the west in the Cowgate ("where nothing was humble or rustic, but all was magnificent") was the gateway which gave access to the Tweeddale Mansion; further west, at the foot of South Gray's Close was Elphinstone's Court and Mansion, built by Sir James Elphinstone in 1679. From him it passed to Sir Francis Scott of Thirlestane, by whom it was sold to Patrick Wedderburn, Esq., who assumed the title of Lord Chesterhall on his elevation to the bench in 1755. His son, the celebrated Lord Loughborough, Lord High Chancellor of England, disposed of it after his father's death to Lord Stonefield, who sat as judge for thirty-nine years, and died in this house about the beginning of the nineteenth century. Many of the beautiful carved doors, mantelpieces, and panels, still remaining, point to the former magnificence of this mansion. A venerable householder still has stories of its haunted rooms. A little further west in the Cowgate, and at the foot of Todrick's Wynd, stood the Mint, which was erected here in 1574,

[1] *Religious Houses* (1755), p. 24.

and to it other buildings were added in the reign of Charles II., and forming in all a neat quadrangle. Here the Scottish coin was produced until the Union, when, a separate coinage being given up, this establishment was abandoned. This court was a sanctuary for persons prosecuted for debt, as was the King's Stables, but, adds Chambers, "there was a small den near the top of the oldest building, lighted by a small window looking up the Cowgate, which was used as a jail for debtors or other delinquents condemned by the Mint's own officers."[1] In the Council-Room of the Mint, in May 1590, was the scene of a great banquet, given "at the requeist of the Kingis Majestie, and for honour of the toun," to the Danish nobles and ambassadors who came over with Anne, Queen of James VI. The mansion of the master was afterwards occupied by the celebrated Dr. Cullen, whose family were all born here, and who died himself here in 1792. Here also was the lodging of the celebrated Earl of Argyll during his attendance at the Scottish Parliament after Charles II. had restored him to his father's title, as appears from a curious case reported, according to Sir Daniel Wilson, in *Fountainhall's Decisions*.[2] "The date is 22d November 1681, only a few days after the Earl had been committed a prisoner to Edinburgh Castle, from whence he effected his escape under the disguise of a page, holding up the train of Lady Sophia Lindsay, his step-daughter."[3] The west side of the court was at one time the residence of Lord Belhaven;[4] while Lord Haining, the Countess of Stair, Douglas of Cavers, and other distinguished families resided here. Going further west,—Beaton's House and Cant's Close have already been described,—we come to the Cowgate end of Dickson's Close, which leads upwards to the High Street. Entering by the High Street side, on the left hand is a substantial building, built about the Revolution period, and evidently the work of John Mylne. Its earlier inhabitants are unknown, but here lived and taught David Allan, the Scottish Hogarth, who succeeded Runciman as

[1] *Traditions*, p. 283. [2] i. 163. [3] *Memorials*, ii. 133. [4] See p. 231.

Master of the Academy established by the Board of Trustees. A little lower down, on the same side, was an old tenement, bearing the Haliburton Arms, and which afterwards was the residence of Sir John Haliday of Tillybole. Adjacent to this, on the east side, were the mansions of the Provost of Crichton and the Abbot of Melrose.

The South Bridge now occupies the place of Niddrie's and Merlin's Wynds, as well as part of the ground formerly occupied by the east gable of the Tron. Niddrie's Wynd (where the Wauchopes of Niddrie had their town mansion) was also associated with the residences of notable citizens. Here was one of the most magnificent mansions of the town—the house of Nicol Edward, Provost of Edinburgh in 1591. It was a quadrangular palace, of elegant old architecture, and accessible by a deep arched gateway. Here King James VI. and his Queen, then recently arrived from Denmark, took up their residence in January 1591; and on 7th of February the Earl of Huntly passed hence, out of the royal presence, when he went to murder the "Bonny Earl of Moray" at Donibristle. This house was about half-way down on the west side, and was afterwards the residence of the Lockharts of Carnwath. Later, the north side of its quadrangle was occupied by the family of Bruce of Kinnaird, the celebrated traveller to the sources of the Nile (1770). Alexander Black of Balbirney (provost from 1579 to 1583) had a house at the head of the wynd, where King James lodged on 18th August 1584, and walked from it in state next day to hold a Parliament in the Tolbooth. Here also lived the Chancellor Thirlstain, in January 1591, while the King and Queen were the guests of Nicol Edward. A little further down, on the east side, was St. Mary's Chapel, founded and endowed in 1504 by Elizabeth, Countess of Ross, and eldest daughter of James, Lord Livingston, Great Chamberlain of Scotland. A modern edifice, which had replaced the old chapel before the passing of Niddrie's Wynd, formed the Hall of the Corporation of Wrights and Masons. It was acquired by them in 1618, and since that time they have borne the name of the United Corporations of Mary's Chapel.

THE TRONE CHURCH. [P. Fourdrinier, *Sculp.*

The old Niddrie's Wynd was the home of the Erskines of Grange, and their mansion was on the east side, opposite Lockhart Court. The story of the "Banishment of Lady Grange" is well known in Edinburgh. She was daughter of the violent Chiesley of Dalry, who killed Lord President Lockhart in a Lawnmarket close. She was the wife of the Hon. James Erskine, a Lord of Session with the title of Lord Grange. Lord Grange, after thirty years of wedded life, became estranged from his wife, and banished her to the lonely island of St. Kilda, where he kept her prisoner for seven years. The lady was carried off with violence from her house in Niddrie's Wynd by certain persons in the service of the notorious Lord Lovat, whose unhappy wife lived at the head of the adjoining Blackfriars' Wynd. Lord Grange talked of the affair as a "sequestration"; but the fact that a Lord of the Court of Session so late as 1732 could, without a trial, banish his wife, and yet move in the best society, profess ultra-evangelical views, and be a patron of the evangelical clergy, casts a curious light on the state of society at the period. He seems never to have fretted at the terrible lot of his wife and the mother of his children.

Allan Ramsay's first Edinburgh house and shop were "at the sign of the Mercury, opposite the head of Niddry Wynd." Here he published the *Gentle Shepherd*, a work which "had only just escaped being a classic." Fergusson, the poet, was born in 1750, and was sent in 1756 to the nearest school, which had been opened in 1750 by a Mr. Philp, "Teacher of English," in Niddrie's Wynd. Here was the house of the famous surgeon, Benjamin Bell, one of the early pioneers, who helped to create the prestige of the Edinburgh School of Medicine. Writing in September 1777, he tells how he had "got fixed at last in a very good house, well aired and lighted, with an easy access of one storey from Niddrie's Wynd, and an entrance from Kinloch's Close without any stairs."

The Niddrie Street School, known prior to 1835 as the City School and subsequent to that year as Bell's School,[1] was associated

[1] See Appendix, p. 364.

with the name of an eminent hymn-writer, Andrew Young. He was appointed in 1830, by the Town Council of Edinburgh, head-master; he began with 80 pupils, and left with the total at 600. In 1840 he became the Head English Master of Madras College, St. Andrews, where he was equally successful. He retired from St. Andrews in 1853, and lived in Edinburgh, where he was for some time the Superintendent of the Greenside Parish Sunday School, and died 30th November 1889. His hymn, "There is a Happy Land," has attained much popularity. In 1833 Mr. Young was spending an evening in the house of Mrs. Marshall, the mother of several of his pupils. Among other pieces, she played one air that caught his attention, and on inquiry he found it was an Indian air called "Happy Land." With the air ringing in his ears, he composed this hymn to it. It was sung in his classes at Niddrie Street School, and was there heard by Mr. James Gall, who included it in the first series of the "Sacred Song Book," 1843, and thence it has passed into many hymn-books. It has been translated into Chinese and many Indian and African dialects, and in these and its original form is sung in Sunday schools all over the world. Perhaps no children's hymn, such as this, calls forth heartier praise; and its origin is in Niddrie Street—the successor of the old historical wynd.

In 1762 the St. Cecilia Hall was built from plans by Sir Robert Mylne. It still stands at the foot of the east side of Niddrie Street, and, though now deserted by the votaries of St. Cecilia, it was built after the model of the great theatre Farnese, at Parma, and was admirably adapted for the purposes of a concert room—its oval form, elliptical ceiling, and arrangement of seats "uniting to convey every note clearly and distinctly to the auditors." Cockburn[1] thus refers to it:

"It was the rise of the new town that obliterated our old peculiarities with the greatest rapidity and effect. It not only changed our scenes and habits of life, but, by the mere inundations

[1] *Memorials*, p. 29.

of modern population, broke up, and, as was then thought, vulgarised our prescriptive gentilities. For example, Saint Cecilia's Hall was the only resort of the musical, and besides being our most selectly fashionable place of amusement, was the best and the most beautiful concert room I have ever yet seen. And there have I myself seen most of our literary and fashionable gentlemen, predominating with their side curls, and frills and ruffles and silver buckles: and our stately matrons stiffened in hoops and gorgeous satins, and our beauties with high-heeled shoes, powdered and pomatumed hair, and lofty and composite head-dresses. All this was in the Cowgate! the last retreat nowadays of destitution and disease. The building still stands, though raised and changed, and is looked down upon from South Bridge, over the eastern side of the Cowgate Arch. . . . The abolition of this Cecilian temple, and the necessity of finding accommodation where they could, and of depending for patronage on the common boisterous public, of course extinguished the delicacies of the old artificial parterre."

The history of St. Cecilia's Hall has been ably written by Dr. David Fraser Harris[1] in a charming volume. Its modern successor is the Music Hall in George Street. In 1802, St. Cecilia's Hall became a Baptist Church; in 1809 it was "consecrated" as the Freemasons Hall of Scotland, and to it in 1812 they built an additional hall, which served this purpose for thirty-six years. It afterwards became a school (Dr. Bell's), and is now an active bookbinding work.

At 14 Niddrie Street is the Tron Girls' Industrial School, procured by the labours of Dr. John Hunter and Dr. Maxwell Nicholson, ministers of the Tron. It is now used as a Tron Mission Hall, and its interior has been adorned with beautiful frescoes by Miss MacGibbon,[2] daughter of the late Dr. MacGibbon, the well-known authority on the Castellated and Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland.

The formation of the South Bridge in 1785 was the next great

[1] Oliphant, Anderson, & Ferrier, 1899. [2] See p. 327.

breach in the High Street after the building of the North Bridge. The new thoroughfare prolonged the North Bridge by a series of arches over the Cowgate valley to the University and southwards. This was part of the scheme of Provost Sir James Hunter Blair,[1] whose name is still commemorated by Hunter's Square at the Tron and by Blair Street to the south of it. It removed Merlioun's or "Merlin's Wynd," called after the Frenchman

> "Merlin, who laid Auld Reekie's causey,
> And made her o' his wark richt saucy."

The east end of the Tron Kirk, which was curtailed in the process, abutted on a stately range of buildings of polished ashlar, with an arched piazza supported on stone pillars extending along nearly the whole front, and a large archway in this building formed the entrance to Marlin's Wynd.[2]

Immediately to the west of Hunter's Square, and adjoining Stevenlaw's Close, was Kennedy's Close, where the eminent Scottish historian and reformer closed his life.

George Buchanan died on the 28th of September 1582 "in Kennedy's Close, first court thereof on your left hand, first house in the turnpike above the tavern there: and in Queen Ann's time this was told to his family and friends, who resided in that house, by Sir James Stewart of Goodtrees, Lord Advocate. Kennedy's Close was the second close above the Tron Church, and is now absorbed into Hunter Square."[3]

The following story is told of him by Mackenzie:[4] "When Buchanan was dying, he called for Mr. Young, his servant, and asked him how much money he had of his, and finding that it was not sufficient for defraying the charges of his burial, he commanded him to distribute it among the poor. Upon which, Mr. Young asking who then would be at the charges of burying him,

[1] See p. 316. [2] See p. 218.
[3] Professor Hume Brown's *Life of Buchanan*, p. 353.
[4] *Lives of Scots Writers*, iii. 172.

he answered that he was very indifferent about that, for if he was once dead, if they would not bury him, they might let him lie where he was, or throw his corpse where they pleased; and that, accordingly, the City of Edinburgh was obliged to bury him at their own expenses." "This story of Mackenzie's," says Professor H. Brown, "is supported by the fact that in Buchanan's will it is stated that his only 'goods and gear' in the world is the sum of a hundred pounds due to him from his Crossraguel pension."[1]

Kennedy's Close consisted of two small courts connected by a narrow passage, and the site of the first corresponds with that of the old Merchants' Hall. A skull, believed to be that of Buchanan, is preserved in the museum of the University of Edinburgh, and it was obtained from Greyfriars by Principal Adamson. It has all the marks of a high cerebral development.

The Tron Parish was the birthplace of another distinguished historian. Hume began his *History of England* in Riddle's Close, wrote the greater part of it in Jack's Land in the Canongate, where he lived from 1753 to 1762. He removed to James' Court, and finally to 21 South St. David Street and 8 St. Andrew Square, where he died in 1776. There is no record of the place of Hume's birth except that it was in the "Tron Church Parish, Edinburgh."

Near the head of Stevenlaw's Close was the "Black Turnpike" —the traditional place of refuge of Mary after Carberry. "This ancient building," says Sir Daniel Wilson, "one of the most sumptuous edifices of the old town, was lofty and of great extent; and the tradition of Queen Mary's residence in it, which had latterly become a universally credited popular belief, was not improbably traceable to some vague survival of the memory of her actual abode in the immediately adjoining lodging of Lord Home."[2] In 1461 it belonged to George Robertson of Lockhart; in the sixteenth century, it belonged to George Crichton, Bishop of Dunkeld, who conferred it upon his two illegitimate daughters. In 1693 it was known as Robertson's Inn.

[1] *Life*, p. 352.

[2] *Memorials*, ii. 35.

At the High Street entrance to the adjoining Bell's Wynd stood the "Clamshell Turnpike," an episcopal residence built in the time of James v. for George Crichton, Bishop of Dunkeld and Abbot of Holyrood, who is described by Keith "as a man nobly disposed, very hospitable, and a magnificent housekeeper: but in matters of religion not much skilled." The name arose from the tower enclosing the turnpike stair having been embellished with an escalop shell. The adoption of this symbol in architecture dates from the Middle Ages, when pilgrims to the Church of St. James at Santiago de Compostella wore escallop shells in front of their hats, which served for them as cup and dish in Palestine. Henceforth escallop shells in a coat of arms signified that some one of the bearer's line had visited the shrine of St. James. George Crichton succeeded Gavin Douglas in the see of Dunkeld. Arnot states, "At the head of Bell's Wynd there were an hospital and chapel, known by the name of Maison Dieu."[1] It is styled "the old land formerly of George, Bishop of Dunkeld." Its foundation may be referred to the reign of James v., when George Crichton, Bishop of Dunkeld (1527-1543), founded the hospital of St. Thomas, near the Watergate, and endowed it for the maintenance of certain chaplains and bedemen "to celebrate the founder's anniversary *obit*, by solemnly singing in the choir of Holyrood Church, on the day of his death yearly, the Placebo and Dirige, for the repose of his soul."[2] The same old land was the lodging of Lord Home, and to it Queen Mary retreated with Darnley, on her return to Edinburgh in 1566, while she was haunted with the memories of her favourite Rizzio's murder. This ancient tenement afterwards became the property of George Heriot.

From Bell's Wynd there came the first numbers of the *Edinburgh Gazette* in 1708—the first paper issued under authority from the Government. During his Edinburgh visit, Burns would be frequently found entering this wynd for the workshop of his friend, James Johnson, engraver and musicseller, and in Johnson's *Scots Musical Museum* he gave to the world several of his songs. In this

[1] P. 246.

[2] Maitland, p. 154.

wynd lived, in former days, the Marjoribanks, ancestors of Lord Tweedmouth; in the eighteenth century it was the residence of musicians and "periwig makers." Wig-making was briskly carried on here, especially after 1722, when the barbers were separated from the surgeons,[1] and it is recorded that one of them was grandfather of Lord Jeffrey. So busy were they kept on the Sundays that in 1765 they petitioned the Town Council to "seriously consider our distressful situation. Debarred from hearing divine worship, no wonder we become dissolute, not to say worse." When the military police and humble tronemen or city sweeps were driven from the Guard House in the High Street, they were settled in Bell's Wynd, and while the residenters objected to the City Guard, the old tronemen were permitted to stay.

In the seventeenth century there lived here James Cathcart of Carbiston, a son of Lord Cathcart, ancestor of the Duke of Queensberry, and at the Reformation on the third storey of the Clamshell Turnpike, "with the back lands and pendicles thereof built over Bell's Wynd," there lived Robert Crichton of Elliock, father of the Admirable Crichton. While the father was Queen's Advocate, his son was astonishing the universities of the Continent with his knowledge and accomplishments. "St. Mary's Chapel" flitted to Bell's Wynd from Niddrie Street, and from 1795 till 1807 the ancient Lodge of Edinburgh (Mary's Chapel), No. 1, met in Bell's Wynd, and paid rent to the Incorporation of Wrights and Masons. Their last meeting here was on 17th January 1892. The convening room, belonging to the weavers of the eighteenth century, was at the foot of Bell's Wynd, in the "Weavers' Land," and beautiful work in linen and shawls was done by them. Here lived also, on the east side, Broun of Coalston. His house was on the site of what was afterwards called the Trades Hall, and headed a close, called Snaddoun's, leading to the Cowgate; at the top of this close was the residence in 1580 of John Murray of Blackbarony, father of the first Lord Elibank. Says Mr. Reid, "The 'improved Assembly

[1] Reid's *New Lights on Old Edinburgh*, p. 169.

Room' formed part of what was recently known as the Trades Hall, a building that has had a somewhat chequered history. For over twenty years the quadrangle which forms its approach, and imparts to it an air of gentility still, was almost nightly illuminated by the sedan chair bearers' torches, the smoke from which nearly filled the crowded ballroom before half the entertainment was over. To increase the accommodation a covered passage was thrown across Bell's Wynd, and a building there was used as a tea-room. This makeshift did not serve long, and in 1784 the directors of fashion wisely discarded the old town for the new."[1] The Assembly Buildings were next converted into the "King's Arms," and here Lord Napier, Lord High Commissioner for nearly twenty years, held on several occasions his levees. One of the sights of the day was the procession of the High Commissioner from here to the High Kirk; no carriages were used, and Lord Napier, preceded by trumpeters and accompanied by many of the nobility and clergy, was received by the Magistrates in official robes—the Lochaber Fencibles and the City Guard lining the High Street.

In 1807 this building was acquired by the Highland Society, from 1814 to 1847 it was the Commercial Bank, after which the Free Tron Church had it. It then passed into a Good Templar's Hall, next a Trades Hall, and is now the Children's Shelter.[2]

Stevenlaw's Close in sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was occupied by merchant princes, and on the west side of the close was a tenement where lived Mrs. Moray Bruce (of the Kennet family), Nisbet of Carphin, Little of Gilmerton, and Lockhart of Carnwath. At the Cowgate end of the close was an ecclesiastical structure, containing an altar dedicated to St. Catharine, and a house to the south of it was mortified by Janet Kennedy, Lady Bothwell, to the chaplain of St. Catharine's altar in Kirk o' Field. Peebles Wynd stood on the site of Hunter's Square, and contained the residential quarter and workshops of the bakers. The experience of one who went to live here in order to be near the centre of the town is that he became

[1] *New Lights on Old Edinburgh*, p. 185. [2] *Ibid.* p. 187.

prostrate and emaciated, consulted a doctor, made his will, and gave himself up to despair. At last he discovered that he was living above a bakery, and that the oven was under his bed!

In Burnet's Close lived Dr. Hugh Blair and Lord Auchinleck, and here most probably Bozzy was born. Above it, leading to the High Street, was Covenant Close, associated traditionally with the Solemn League and Covenant, if not the very close where it was drafted. The name recalls the time when, as Gordon of Rothiemay narrates, such ministers as spoke for the Covenant, "were heard so passionately and with such frequency, that churches could not contain their hearers in cities: some of the devouter sex (as if they kept vigils) keeping their seats from Friday to Sunday, to get communion given them sitting: some handmaids sitting in the churches all night till their mistresses came to take up their places." As the National Covenant of 1638 was signed in Greyfriars' Churchyard, so the signing of the Solemn League and Covenant has been traditionally located in this old Tron Parish close. Covenant Close was passed over by the great fire of 1824, and there was an old-fashioned tradition that the Covenant houses "wadna burn," as they came scathlessly through the fire of 1700 also. The houses here opened into Burnet's and Conn's Closes.

In Covenant Close lived a host of law lords. On the first flat (above the tavern and oyster shop) lived Lord Alemore, who was elevated to the bench on the death of Sir James Fergusson of Kilkerran,[1] whom he also succeeded as Lord of Justiciary. Patrick Murray of Cherrytrees possessed the floor above Lord Alemore; on the fourth floor lived Michael Lumsden, advocate, whose grandfather, father, and brother were ministers of Duddingston. Patrick Grant (Lord Elchies[2]) also lived here. On this flat also was a suite of six rooms, occupied by the Countess Dowager of Northesk, widow of the fourth Earl, who died in 1729. She was succeeded by Professor Munro (tertius), who was the grandson of the founder of the Medical School of Edinburgh,[3] and himself was Professor of

[1] See p. 311. [2] See p. 302. [3] *New Lights on Old Edinburgh*, p. 118.

Anatomy and Surgery in the University. The upper flat of Covenant Close was jointly occupied by Advocates Veitch and Macqueen,[1] the Lords Elliock and Braxfield of later years. Elliock was a friend and correspondent of Frederick the Great, but Braxfield was less refined. The intricate questions arising out of forfeitures in 1745 brought him into notice, and in 1776 he was elevated to the bench, taking the title of Lord Braxfield. In 1780 he was constituted a Lord of Justiciary; in 1788 he was appointed Lord Justice Clerk, and held this office during an interesting and critical period. "Yet regardless of the threats and invectives of a misled populace" (says a contemporary), "he discharged his duties with a manly firmness of mind, well-tempered intrepidity of conduct, and a wise and faithful application of the law, that must make his memory ever be gratefully remembered by his country." He died at Edinburgh in 1799 in his seventy-eighth year. His remarks were often coarse and brutal, as, "Bring me the prisoner, and I will find you law." To an eloquent culprit Braxfield's memorable remark was, "Man, you're a very clever chiel, but I'm thinking ye waud be nane the waur o' a hangin'." His language led to a rebuke from the political prisoner, Margarot. "Hae ye ony coonsel, man?" Braxfield inquired. "No," was the reply. "Did ye want to hae ony appinted?" "No," replied Margarot, who was an Englishman; "I only want an interpreter to make me understand what your lordship says." Of Conn's Close there is little known, and this was the boundary of the old Tron Parish on the west side in the High Street.

Descending to the Cowgate, and near the western side of the South-East Parish was the residence of Thomas Hamilton, first Earl of Haddington,[2] President of the Court of Session, and Secretary of State for Scotland. He was so rich that the people believed him to be in possession of the Philosopher's Stone, and when King James asked to be made acquainted with the treasure, the President replied that his secret lay in the saying:

[1] See p. 306.

[2] The Haddingtons were members of the Tron (pp. 153, 309).

"Ne'er put off to the morn what can be done to-day,
Ne'er send anither whar yoursel' can gae,
Ne'er trust to ither what yoursel' can dae!"

The three famous accesses from the Cowgate to the south were the Horse Wynd, the College Wynd, and the High School Wynd. The Horse Wynd was the West Cowgate terminus of the old Tron Parish, and led to the suburb of the Potterrow. It was once celebrated for its spaciousness and salubrity as a place of residence. At its Cowgate corner was the printing-press of Andro Symson. Near was the Tailors' Hall where, on 27th February 1638, about three hundred ministers met to prepare for the renewal of the Covenant, which was received with popular sympathy the next day in Greyfriars' Churchyard.

College Wynd was also a fashionable centre, and before the South Bridge was formed gave access to the college from the High Street. Oliver Goldsmith lodged in it; Walter Scott was born in it, opposite the dwelling of Dr. James Black, the great chemist, and under the same roof as Lord Henderland. Up this narrow way, Boswell and Principal Robertson conducted Dr. Johnson to see the "Town's College," when the future author of *Waverley* was a baby.

The High School Wynd led to the Grammar School of the town, which shortly after the Reformation was settled "in High School Yards," near the old Blackfriars' Monastery. The first school was built in 1578, and the second in 1777. Within the walls of these schools were educated many of the most brilliant Scotsmen—Drummond of Hawthornden, Walter Scott, Francis Jeffrey, as well as three Lord Chancellors of England—Erskine, Loughborough, and Brougham—among many others.[1] In 1829 the Royal High School flitted to the Calton slopes, and one of its warmest friends was the Rev. Dr. Brunton of the Tron, himself a former pupil.[2]

Coming again to the High Street part of the old Tron Parish, we recall other incidents in Scottish history.

About 1549 the French soldiers stationed in Edinburgh

[1] See Stevens' *History of the High School.*

[2] *Ibid.* p. 234.

quarrelled with the Scotch—"the French soldiers being so furious that they shot their harquebusses indifferently at all men"—when they were driven from the Cross to Niddrie's Wynd-head, and were there joined by their fellow-soldiers. The Scotch compelled them to retreat to the Nether Bow, where they encountered the provost and citizens—the provost, his son, and various citizens being slain. The French troops held the town from five to seven at night, when they retired to the Canongate, and to end the matter the Frenchman, who was the chief instigator of the business, was hanged the same day at the place where the quarrel first began,—the only alternative for the Scots to another English harrying.

When the young Queen Mary made her public entrance to the capital on 2nd September 1561, we are told, "at the Butter Tron, at the head of the Lawnmarket, was a triumphal arch, on the which were certain bairns singing in the maist heavenly wise; and suspended from the arch was a cloud, opening with four leaves, in the which was ane bonny bairn. As the Queen passed through the archway the cloud opened, and the bairn descended, as it had been an angel, and delivered to Her Highness the keys of the town, together with a Bible and psalter covered with fine purple velvet. Much else of the like kind followed. At the Tolbooth, the City Cross, the Salt Tron — where the Tron Kirk now stands — and at the Nether Bow, angels, allegorical virgins, and fanciful impersonations of all sorts, had each some welcome or apt lesson to teach. Some of these were such as made it the wisest policy of the Queen to leave them uninterpreted, for ingenuity had been racked to devise masques and allegories significantly suited to the times."

In 1633, when Charles I. visited Edinburgh, a similar reception was accorded, and at the Salt Tron, Mount Parnassus was erected, "with a great variety of vegetables, rocks, and other decorations peculiar to mountains," and crowded with all its ancient inhabitants—the whole fantastic exhibition costing the city upwards of £41,000 Scottish money!

The annals of the period at the Commonwealth are full of tragic

details, and Nicoll narrates, "thair was daylie hanging, skurging, nailing of luggis, and binding of pepill at the Trone, and booring of tongues!" while the gallant Montrose was conveyed past the Tron Kirk in the common cart to the Cross and was there executed, his head being affixed to the Tolbooth, and his severed members sent to be exposed in the chief towns of the kingdom.[1]

On the 11th May 1660 the magistrates of Edinburgh sent a member of the Tron Kirk—the Town Clerk, Sir William Thomson[2]—to Breda to express their joy at the prospect of the restoration, and their messenger paved the way to the royal favour by the humble presentation of "a poor myte of £1000, which the King did graciously accept, as though it had been a great business!"

Tuesday, 19th June 1660, was the day of universal thanksgiving for the restoration of the King: first came sermons inculcating the divine right of kings. After sermon, tables were set at the Cross, loaded with sweetmeats. The Cross spouts ran with abundance of claret—300 glasses being broken . . . and finally "in the end of this solemnity the effigy of that notable tyrant and traitor, Oliver, being set up on a pole, and the Devil upon another, upon the Castle Hill, it was so ordered by means of fireworks that the Devil did chase that traitor and pursued him still, till he blew him into the air." Amid other symptoms of rejoicing, "the pure (poor) kaill-wyves at the Trone" (Jenny Geddes, no doubt, among the number) "war sae overjoyed, that they sacrificed their standis, and creelis, yea, the verie *stoolis* on, in ane fire."

But the re-establishment of Episcopacy, in defiance of the King's solemn promises, turned the rejoicings into mourning, and then followed the sad chapter which ended in the Revolution. All the ministers of Edinburgh resigned except Mr. Lawrie of the Tron, who conformed, and emerged as Dean of Edinburgh.[3] Nicoll states:

August 1662.—"Lykewyse, upone the fyft day of August 1662, Mr. James Hammiltone, Mr. George Huchesoun and Maister

[1] *Diary*, p. 12. [2] See p. 213. [3] See p. 210.

Johnne Smith, thrie of the ministeris of Edinburgh, were silenced and deposit by ordor of the Estaites of Parliament, for not geving obedience to the Bischops. And as for the rest of the ministeris of Edinburgh, it was intimat to thame, that thai sould incur the lyke censure and punishement, gif thai did not submitt to thair ordiner the Bischop of Edinburgh." [1]

October 1662.—"Eftir the electioun of the magistrates of Edinburgh this year, all the ordiner ministeris of Edinburgh were dischargit preaching, becaus of thair not conformitie with and obedience to the Bischopis. And thair wes nane sufferit to teache except Mr. Robert Lowrie, being now Deane of Edinburgh; all the sermondis taght in Edinburgh wer by strangeris, quho wer not much lykit by the auditouris, bot fled thair kirkis, and wanderit to uther kirkis. Lykewise, the Mondayis preaching, quhilk wes in use and custome these many yeiris bypast, wes dischargit, at leist neglectet." [2]

In 1680 the Duke of York arrived in Edinburgh as Commissioner to the Scottish Parliament from the King, and accompanying him were his Duchess and the Lady Anne, his daughter, afterwards Queen Anne. He conducted himself so graciously at Holyrood that all classes, with keen memory of their unjust treatment under the Lauderdale rule, found a very wholesome change, and he gained universal affection. The city welcomed him and provided an entertainment for him in the Parliament House. Court was kept at Holyrood, and tea was introduced for the first time into Scotland, and given by the Duchess to the ladies who visited at the Palace. Plays, masquerades, and balls were provided, and the Duke played at golf both at the Watergate and at Leith. But there arose sullen suspicion, and the students and High School boys gave a demonstration of it. A custom had long prevailed of burning the Pope in effigy on Christmas Day, but the magistrates, out of deference to the Duke, determined to prevent it during his stay in Edinburgh. Students and High School boys

[1] Nicoll, p. 375.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 380.

resolved the custom was not to be broken. The military were called out, but, says Fountainhall, "all this did not divert the designe, but, by a witty stratagem, the boys carried a portrait to the Castlehil (as if this blind had been the true one, and they had intended to carry it in procession doune the streets and performe ther ceremony and pageantrie in the Abbey Court over against the Duke of Albanies' windows), which made all the forces draw up at the West Bow head, and in the Grasse Mercat, leist the boyes should escape by coming doune the South Back of the Castle. Thus having stopped all avenues, as they thought, thir boyes escaped by running doune vennells leading to the North Loch side, and other boyes carried the true effigies from the Grammar School yeard to the head of Blackfriars' Wynd, and that on the Hy Street, first clodded the picture with dirt and then set fyre to the pouder within the trunk of his body, and so departed." The streets were cleared by the military, and the ringleaders were captured, but the people rose in defence of the students and burned the provost's house at Priestfield. The College gates were closed, collegians were ordered to remove to a distance of fifteen miles from the city, but when the excitement abated, they were allowed to return. The spirit, manifested by the youths, was prophetic of subsequent Scottish history.

In 1702 the failure of the Darien Scheme was followed by riots. A vessel belonging to the East India Company, which entered the Forth, was seized by the Scottish Government by way of reprisal for the unjust detention in the Thames of one belonging to the Scottish African Company. In the course of trial the captain and crew were convicted of murder committed on the mate and crew of a Scottish vessel in the East Indies. The evidence appeared to influential parties insufficient, yet the wildest excitement arose against movements for reprieve. The report spread that it was granted, and the mob assaulted the Lord Chancellor while passing the Tron Kirk in his carriage, on his return from the Privy Council. The carriage windows were smashed, the Chancellor was thrown out and dragged upon the street, and with great difficulty was saved

from the mob by an armed body of his friends. The tumult was only appeased ultimately by the public execution of the seamen.

The Union in Scotland was at first regarded as an attempt to sacrifice national independence and establish English supremacy. Much displeasure was expressed at the Duke of Queensberry[1] and all who favoured the Union. On 23rd June 1705 the populace proceeded to hostility, till the city was completely at their mercy, and they were only prevented blocking up the ports by the military being ordered to take possession of the Nether Bow and other important points in the city. The Commissioner walked between a double line of musketeers from the Parliament House to his coach, which waited at the Cross, and amid hoots, peltings, and curses from the mob, drove at full gallop to Holyrood. The people were enthusiastic towards the Duke of Hamilton, following him with cheers in commendation of his fidelity. A curious ornamental summer-house in Moray House grounds is the spot where the Commissioners met to fix their signatures to the Treaty of Union, but the mob pursued them thither, and the actual signing of the Treaty is believed to have taken place in a "laigh shop" or cellar at 177 High Street, opposite the Tron Kirk. This had been the haunt of the Unionists, and was known as Union Cellar. Here was the "end of an auld sang." It was also the spot where Neil Gow began selling fiddles and reel music, and is now the cellar of a bank.[2]

Turner, the greatest of landscape painters, said that "the *old* High Street of Edinburgh was only surpassed in Europe by that of Oxford," but the old Guard-House, in front of the Black Turnpike and in the centre of the High Street, was not an improvement. "Ungainly utility" protected it long, and during Cromwell's time it was the scene of many of his acts of "guid discipline, causing drunkardis ryd the triemeir, with stoppis and muskettis tyed to thair leggis and feit, a paper on thair breist and a drinking cap in thair handis."[3] Still, its proximity and that of the Tolbooth to the Tron

[1] See p. 227. [2] *Romantic Edinburgh*, p. 26. [3] Nicoll, p. 69.

Beam, which stood near it, were necessary even if such scenes as the following were only very occasional :—

Tron (combat at).

"The 17 of Juini (1605), ane combat or tulzie foughten at the salt tron of Edr. betwix the laird of Ogle, younger, and his complices, and the young laird of Pittarow, Wischart. The faucht lastit frae 9 hours at night till ij at night, twa hours. Yair were sundrie hurt on both sydes, and ane Guthrie slaine, which wes Pittarow's man, ane verie prettie young man. The 18 day, they were accusit befoir the counsell, and wardit."[1]

The Tron Parish included the densely populated part of the old High Street, and for nearly three hundred years the Flodden Wall formed the boundaries of old Edinburgh. The city increased by utilising the passages in wynds and closes, by building on open garden grounds, or by adding flat to flat until even fifteen storeys rose erect from the ground. Carriages were rendered all but useless, and the first seen in Edinburgh was said to be that brought by Alexander, Lord Seton. Queen Mary was carried in a litter when she did not ride.

The crowding of all classes together within such a limited area sustained simplicity, neighbourliness, and kindly feeling, not fostered by present conditions, and an example of the social life of the time may be taken from the old tenement that towered upwards from the Cowgate on the site of the former prebendal manses. The building here of 1665, as Forbes of Culloden wrote his brother, sheltered "the Lord President and most of the Lords, with many good and great families"; my Lady Hartfield,[2] Napier of Merchiston, and Lord Mersington, one of James the Second's judges, but a zealous Presbyterian, who, according to the apocryphal narrative of Lord Balcarres, on the news of the dethronement of the last of the Stuart kings, headed the mob that gutted Holyrood Chapel, "a halbert in

[1] Birrell's *Diary*, p. 63.

[2] See p. 153.

his hand, and as drunk as ale and brandy could make him." Up the same stair were the residences of Sir James Mackenzie, Sir Patrick Aikenhead, Lady Harviston, and Lady Colston, with bailies, merchants, and humbler citizens. . . . We can still review the domestic arrangements of some of the select occupants of this fashionable rookery. Sir George Campbell of Cessnock, ancestor of the Earls of Marchmont, occupied a lodging on the fourth storey above the close, "entering by the scale stair from the Parliament Close and Kirkheugh," at a yearly rent of five hundred and fifty merks Scots, and "consisting of seven fire-rooms and a closet with ane fire." Above him was Sir William Binning of Wallyford, in the fifth storey, with equal accommodation at a somewhat lower rental. Lord Mersington's lodging was also on the fifth floor of the scale stair entering from the close; and included eight fire-rooms and a cellar, at the rent of two hundred pounds Scots; and so the judicial report proceeds with its impartial inventory, from the plebeian renters of garrets and "laigh houses beneath the ground," at an annual rate of twelve pound Scots, or twenty shillings sterling, to my Lord Crossrig, who pays three hundred pounds Scots for his flats and share of the common stair."[1]

The following story regarding the "jovial female roysterers" of the eighteenth century is told by Dr. Robert Chambers. Three gentlewomen adjourned one night after a merrymaking in a tavern near the Cross. On emerging into the High Street it was bright moonlight, and they made their way till they reached the Tron Kirk, where the shadow of its steeple, thrown directly across the street, arrested their steps. Fully persuaded that a broad river interrupted their further progress, they with deliberation took off their shoes and stockings, kilted up their petticoats, and waded through to the moonshine beyond; finding, no doubt, in the cold contact with the pavement abundant confirmation of their hallucination!

Readers of the immortal story of *Rab and his Friends*, by the beloved Dr. John Brown, will remember how brightly it opens—

[1] *Reminiscences of Old Edinburgh*, ii. 308.

the boys coming up Blackfriars from the High School, seeing the crowd at the Tron Kirk around the dog-fight, and coming to it with eager zest. Then the rush down Niddrie Street (in which the boys join), with fun and rollick, after the hullabaloo is over. What a joy is our first introduction to the great Rab, under the South Bridge, in the Cowgate—the splendid dog walking about idly, "as if with his hands in pocket," till the little bull-terrier insolently attacks him, with bitter consequence. And what a mournful sequence, six years afterwards, to know the Howgate carrier and his wife—the latter being brought to the hospital at Minto Street, and the carrier and the faithful Rab remaining there till the operation is over, and the dead body of poor Ailie is carried home by her husband in his cart over the miles of snowy country road, till the curtain falls over the death of the carrier and poor noble Rab too!

The pathos of the story strikes a note that is very familiar in some form, almost daily, in the present Tron Parish, surrounded with historical romance from the past, and with the "still sad music of humanity" in the present hour; while the duties, which ever press for service, arouse at once the Christian devotion and courage of the present, earnest congregation, and the noble band of workers whom it sustains and inspires.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER I

As the following relates to the various markets in the parish and round the Tron, we print it here:—

3rd October 1477.—"James be the grace of God King of Scottis, to all and sundri our legis and subditis quham it efferis [to] quhais knaulage thir our lettres salcum, greting, Forsamekle as it is be our speciale charge statute and ordanit be the provest bailyeis and counsale of our burgh of Edinburgh, for the honoure proffit and honestes of our saide burgh and plennesing of voide placis within the

saymn, that the merkettis to be haldin in tyme to cum in the samyn, apoun the merket dayis, fare dayis, and all vther dayis neidfull, salbe haldin and set on this wise as eftir followis, that is to say: In the first the merket of haye, stra, gers, and hors mete to be vsit and haldin in the Cowgate, fra Forestaris Wynd down to Peblis Wynd; alsa the fisch merket fra the Frere Wynde to the Netherbow on baith the sidis of oure commoun strete; alsa the salt merket to be haldin in Nudreis Wynde; alsa the cramys of chepmen to be set fra the Belhous down to the Trone, on the north side of our saide strete; alsa the hatmakaris and skynnaris fornent thame on the south side of the saymn; alsa the wod and tymmer merket fra Dalrimpill yarde to the Grey freris and Westirmart; alsa the scho merket of cordenaris fra Foristaris Wynde end westwart to Dalrimpill west yarde dike; alsa the rede barkit ledder with thame; alsa the nolt merket of carcagis and mutone about the Trone, and sa doun throuch to the Frere wynde and nocht on the wolk day; alsa all partrikis, pluuaris, capons, conyngis, chekinnis, and all vther wyld fowlis and tame to be vsit and sald about the Merket croce, and in na vther place; alsa all qwyk bestis, ky, oxon, nocht to be brocht in the tovne bot vnder the wall fer west at oure stable; alsa the mele merket of all grane and cornes fra the Tolbuth vp to Libertons Wynde; alsa fra thine vpart to the treves the merkett of all cottone claith, quhite, gray, and all vthir claith quhitis within vj quartaris, and al lynnyng claith to be sald thare and in na vther place; alsa all buttir, cheis, woll, and sic like gudis that suld be weyit to be vsit at the Ouer Bow, and a trone set thare and nocht to be opinyt quhil the hour of nyne forow none; alsa all irne werk belanging cutleris, symethys, lorymaris, lokmakaris, and all sic werkmen, to be vsit beneath the Netherbow, before and abowt Sanct Mary Wynde; alswa all ald graith and geir to be vsit and sauld in the Friday merket before the Gray freris, lyke as is vsit in vthir cuntreis. The quhilk statutis and ordinance and setting of markettis as is aboue writtin, for the causis foresaide we ratify and appruvis be thir our ettres, chargeing herefore straitlie and commandis all and sundrie

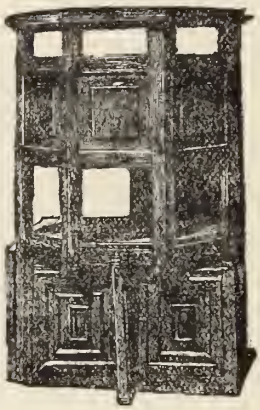
our legis and subditis foresaidis, and in speciale the communitie and inhabitantis of our saide burgh quham it efferis, that ye and ilk ane of yow observe and keep the said statutis, and redily intend answer and obey to oure saide provest and bailyies that now are and that sal happin to be for the tyme in the setting and halding of the saide markettis and keping of thame in the plaicis before writin, efter the tennour of the saide statutis, and nocht to cum in ony wise incontrair the saymn vnder all the hiest paine and charge that ye and ilk ane of yow may commit and incur agane ws in that parte, and vndir the pains set and ordanit be thame in thair commoun buke apon the ganestandaris and brekaris of the saidis statutis and setting of the saide merkettis, and to be punyst thairefter as efferis. Gevin vnder owre priuie sele at Edinburgh the thrid day of October the yere of our Lord a thousand foure hundreth seventy and sevin yeirs, and of our regnne the auchtene yere.—JAMES R. Scheves."[1]

[1] Extracts from the *Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh* (1403–1528), pp. 34–36.

THE GUARD-HOUSE AND BLACK TURNPIKE
(WEST OF TRON)

CHAPTER II

THE KIRK OF ST. GILES AS THE REFORMED KIRK OF EDINBURGH



JOHN KNOX'S PULPIT IN ST. GILES.

CHAPTER II

THE KIRK OF ST. GILES AS THE REFORMED KIRK OF EDINBURGH

JOHN KNOX was not only the dominant and creative personality in the national Presbyterianism, but he was also the parish minister of the burgh of Edinburgh. The parishioners met in the Great Kirk, and the following extracts from the City Records, Dean of Guild and Treasurer's Accounts, give accurate statements regarding a period that was epoch-making in the nation, and must ever remain interesting to all. We are brought by them face to face with the great Reformer, see him as a living force in Scottish religion, and observe the changes in historic St. Giles, which indicate at once his ideal and the influence of his ministry. Nor are homely, personal traits awanting. Each week John Knox preached five times :—

8th April 1562.—" The counsale, vnderstanding the tedious and havie lauboris sustenit be thair minister, Johnne Knox, in preiching thris in the oulk and twis on the Sounday, ordanis with ane consent to solist and persuade maister Johnne Craig, presentlie minister of the Canongait, to accept vpoun him the half chargeis of the preiching in the said kirk of Edinburgh for sic gude deid as thai can aggre on." [1]

Knox was at first supported by the freewill offerings of the four town quarters, but at an early date a fixed stipend was appointed for him :

[1] *Records*, p. 131.

15*th November* 1565.—"The provest, baillies and counsale ordanis the sowme of fowre hundreth (blank) to be given to Jhonn Knox, minister, of the radeast of the annuellis, prebendareis, chaiplanreis, tenementis, properteis, dewiteis, emolimentis, etc., quhilk pertenit to preistis, monkis, freris, etc., for his yeirlie stipend all the dayis of his lyfe."[1]

The kirk was not only the place for worship and "hearing doctrine," but was also the centre of the civil, judicial, and scholastic life of the town:

(*a*) 19*th June* 1560.—"Ordanis James Barroun dene of gilde with all diligence to repair and big vp ane stane wall, viz. ane parpall wall of (blank) fute thyk, beginand (at) the southe kirk dur callit the kirk yarde dur and streicht northe to the northe kirk dur at the Stynkand Styll for the said towbuyth: and vpone the east end of the said kirk ane uther parpall wall of the sam thiknes, beginnand at the eist cheik of the kirk dur at our Lady steppis, and swa in langis the breid of the said kirk be just lyne to the south sydwall of the samyn for thair schule: and that the said James furnesche big and sett vp all thingis necessar for the said schole, towbuyth, prisoun hous, clerkis chalmer and all theris necessaris within the samyn."[2]

(*b*) 24*th February* 1561–62.—"the tolbuith to be maid in the west end of the kirk (is) for the lordis of sessioun."[3]

(*c*) Until this work was accomplished, the kirk itself was used for a law court:

"to twa workmen for bering of tymmer in the kirk at the command of Provest, baillies and counsall, to be saitts to the Lordis or the Towne to minister justice for the defalt of the Tolbuith."[4]

(*d*) By 1563–64 the Tolbooth at the west of St. Giles seems to have been finished, as the following show:—

[1] *Records*, p. 71. [2] *Ibid.* p. 66. [3] *Ibid.* p. 131.
[4] Treasurer's Accounts, i. 364.

"Gevin be the bailles command in the Tolbuith att ane Justice Courtt, &c.

"For xx cuchenis to the Tolbuith, &c.

"For hair to the couchinis, &c.

"For skynnis to lyne thame, &c.

"For workmenschip to lyne thame, &c."[1]

The following relate to the interior of the kirk :—

(*a*) So early as 1560 there was a loft in St. Giles :

"nalis to the fluring of the loft" . . . vj^{s}

"bandis on the new durre to the loft" . . ij^{s}[2]

(*b*) There is a reference to "saving the stalls and other timber works within the kirks."[3]

(*c*) And—

"At the Quenyis command for munting of ane new powpet, placing of the stallis in the awld manner, and sicce uther wikitness" . . xvj^{s} viij^{d}[4]

(*d*) The Dean of Guild accounts bear reference to the making of the "Kingis Grace Saitt" in 1564–65,[5] and (2) to the "making of ane interdise in the stall quhair the provest sittis att the sermond."[6]

(*e*) The Edinburgh Council sat with him.[7]

(*f*) There were special seats where those about to be married sat, the service being at the close of sermon in the afternoon.

Thus, 1566.—"for nailles and mending of the mariage saittis" . . . . xij^{d}[8]

(*g*) There was the Pillar of Repentance in the kirk :

1566–67.—"Item, the first day of Februar 1566, gevin to David Bynnyng, paynter, to paynt

[1] Treasurer's Accounts, i. 461.
[2] Dean of Guild's Accounts, ii. 98.
[3] Introd. p. x.
[4] Guild Accounts, ii. 117.
[5] *Ibid.* ii. 207.
[6] *Ibid.* ii. 220.
[7] *Ibid.* ii. 235.
[8] *Ibid.* ii. 235.

upoun the pillar of repentence thir wourdis, This is the place appoyntit for publick repentence" . . . . . v^{s} [1]

(*h*) There were stalls or stall for the Lords of Session :

1562–63.—"To the said glassinwrycht for mending of the windo above the Lordis heidis quhair thai sit at the preching, setting latheating and for ane pannell of new glass to the said windo, contenand thre futis" . . . . . xvj^{s} viij^{d}

(*i*) The majority of the people seem to have stood at worship, and the older people seem to have used stools. The following extracts (which are similar to all such at Communion seasons) show that tables, forms, etc., were brought and fixed in the church :—

The sacrament was dispensed early in the morning, and the Great Kirk of St. Giles was in winter lit with torches :

1562–63.—"Upon Sonnday the xx of December and Sonnday the xxvij of the samyn, for xij gallowns thre quartis wyne to the Communioun, price of the pint ij^{s} . . . . summa x^{li} iiij^{s}

Item, thre dowsoun foure breid, price of the pece xiiij^{d} . summa xv^{s}

Item, twa dousoun torcheis . . . . iij^{li}

Item, ane hundereth plancheour naill to the barress . iij^{s}

Item, for plancheour naill for the torcheis . . vj^{d}

Item, to foure warkmen for bering of the taiblis and fourmis and tymmer that was the barress baith the dayis . . . . . viij^{s}

Item, to Johnne Cunnynghame, wrycht, and his servandis for upsetting and dountaking of the taiblis and barress baith the dayis . . . . . x^{s}

Item, the servandis disiounis that servit the taiblis baith the Sonndayis, and keipit the kirk . . . vj^{s}

[1] Guild Accounts, ii. 236.

Item, for wesching of the tabill claithis . . . xviij^{d}
Item, for bering of certaine furrmis fre the Maitland Chapell and Tolbuith to the kirk and fre thin to the Maitland Chapell and Tolbuith agane . . ij^{s} vj^{d}"[1]

The Over Tolbooth (which was afterwards used by the Greyfriars' Congregation,[2] before they went to the Magdalen Chapel and their own new church about 1620) seems to have had special services in it for Roman Catholics.

Thus the *Burgh Records* of Edinburgh state (7th January 1568–69):

"The baillies and counsall ordanis the deyne of gild to caus mak ane poupat, portative, to be set vp in the Over Tolbuth for preiching to the papistis, and to caus mend the intres of the polpat in the hie kirk."[3]

Taverns were ordered to be closed during the Sunday preachings:

"The baillies and counsall ordanis that proclamatioun be maid that na oppin tavernis be haldin the time of preiching on the Saboth day, vnder the pane of a vnlaw of fyve li."[4]

During the "preachings" in the kirk on the week-days, the same restriction was made:

5*th February* 1584–85.—"Statuts and ordanis that all persouns hant and repair to the sermouns and preicheings on Wedinsday and Fryday, steik up thair buith durris, and that nane be fund in the tavernis or passing vp and down the streits induring the tyme thairof, vnder the payne of xvii s the first falt, the secund xl s and the thrid v li, and that proclamatioun heirof be maid throw this burgh."[5]

When it is recalled that besides being the dominant personality in the national life of the day, and ever watching and guarding the interests of the Church of Scotland as they were involved in the

[1] Accounts of the Dean of Guild, ii. 172.
[2] See p. 98.
[3] Vol. (1557–1571), p. 259.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] Vol. (1573–89), p. 388.

ever-shifting scenes of public life, John Knox, the minister of St. Giles Great Kirk, was also parish minister of the burgh of Edinburgh, preaching thrice on the week-days, twice on the Sunday, administering regularly the sacraments of the Holy Communion and of Baptism, as well as taking the marriages of the burgh single-handed for two epoch-making years in Scottish history, the work can only be called stupendous and quite beyond the reach of an ordinary man. The Council insisted on him having help, and of *John Craig*, who served as colleague with John Knox for nine years from 1562, it is narrated,[1] "that being informed in England of the reformation, begun at home, he returned into Scotland, and made offer of his service to the Church. But his long desuetude of the country language (which was not to be marvelled, considering that he had lived abroad the space of twenty-four years) made him unuseful at first; *now and then to the learneder sort he preached in Latin in the Magdalen's Chapel at Edinburgh*, and in the year 1561, after he had recovered the language, was appointed minister at Halyrudhouse."

John Cairns was the "reader," and is mentioned as such in the "Register of Ministers"[2] and "Stipends for 1567,"[3] but he was afterwards ordained. He was a "reader to Knox during all his ministry," and served the kirk to 1595, suffering in 1584 for his conscience' sake. In the *Records of the Burgh*, he is described as "actour of the mornyng prayeris,"[4] and again as "redar of the common preyaris,"[5] and these references show that every week-day there was common morning and evening prayer in the kirk. When John Cairns was banished for his nonconformity in 1584, the schoolmaster was appointed in his place to read "common prayer" morning and evening.[6] John Cairns was very popular among the people of old Edinburgh, and the Dean of Guild accounts contain frequent references to his long tenure of office, in such references as these:

[1] Spottiswoode, iii. 94. [2] P. 7. [3] P. 73.
[4] Vol. (1557–1571), p. 123. [5] *Ibid.* p. 128. [6] *Records* (1573–1589), p. 352.

1566–67.—"Item, the comptar dischairgis him with the bying of ane roll of walx, to Jhonn Cairnis, redar, the xxv day of October 1566, for reding of the common prayeris in wynter . . . . iiij^{s}
Item, the xiiij day of December 1566, for ane uther roll of wax to Jhonn Cairnis . . . . iiij^{s}"[1]

The following reference in the *Burgh Records* both indicates the early provision made for the "sustenance" of Knox's colleague and reader, and brings out quite clearly the fact that the four parishes of the town, created in 1584, corresponded to the four quarters, or wards, recognised by the Town Council.

11*th June* 1563.—"The baillies, counsale and hale dekynnis, vnderstanding that this half yeir past thair hes bene na manner of provisioun maid nor support gevin to Jhonn Craige minister and Jhonne Carnys redar, nowther tuiching thair sustentatioun nor vtherwise: quhairfor thay ordane the personis following to pas amangis the faythfull quhilkis hes communicat and requyre of thame thair support to the said minister and reder for ane quarter of yeir quhill it sall pleis God that better ordour may be obtenit, and quhat euerye man granttis to wryte with his name, and ordanis the commoun clerk to gyf vnto thame in roll the names of the saidis communicantis, and the saidis collectouris to present the saidis rollis to the counsale with the sowmes granttit as said is." [Here follow the names of three persons for each of the south-west, south-east, north-east, and north-west *quarters*, which after 1584 were recognised as ecclesiastical parishes as well.][2]

The poor of the burgh were very importune in their begging at the kirk, as the following, among many similar references, shows:

24*th January* 1564–65.—"The prouest, baillies and counsale foresaid ordanis in all tymes cuming upoun Soundayis and vther preiching dayis, induring all the tyme of the sarmont, tua of the

[1] *Records*, ii. 234, 235. [2] *Ibid.* p. 161.

officeris await at the kirk dur for stopping of the clamour of the pure, tua vpon the calsay, and the remanent within the kirk for ordering and keiping of the samyn quyet, under pane of depriuation of thair offices."[1]

The parish kirk was opened early in the morning.

4th October 1566.—"The keiparis of the kirk of this burgh . . . are to keipe the durris thairof the tyme of sermound prayaris and exercys, as vs hes bene in tymes past, and to oppin the durris of the said kirk at sevin houris in the mornyng in wynter and fyve in somer, and to steik the said durris at four houris in wynter and sex in somer, and the said Patrik and Robert to await wpoun the counsall in counsall dayis and keipe the counsal hous dur outwith the samyn."[2]

These snap-shot incidents give glimpses of the Reformed Kirk of St. Giles, but there are several relating to John Knox, the minister, that are important.

The citizens of Edinburgh provided him with a manse:

4th September 1560.—"The baillies and counsaill, haveing consideratioun that, for the eis of Johne Knox minister, Johne Durie talyeour removit him furth of the ludgeing occupyit be the abbot of Drumfermeling to the effect the said minister mycht enter thairto, ordanis Alexander Park thesaurer to content and pay to the said John Durie the sowme of viij merkis, and the samyn sall be allowit: and als the saidis ballies and counsaill faithfullie promittis that how sone thai may provide the said minister ane vther ludgeing, to enter the said Johne to the possessioun thairof."[3]

Knox's house was attended, worthy of his station, as the following shows:—

18th August 1564.—"The prouest (bailies and council) vnderstanding that be the command of the kirk, Jhonn Knox and

[1] *Burgh Records*, p. 194. [2] *Ibid.* p. 221. [3] *Ibid.* p. 76.

Jhonne Craig, ministeris, ar instantlie to depairt, the tane to the north and the vther to the south pairttis for preiching of the evangell in tha pairttis, and that it is appoyntit that Christopher Gudeman, minister of Sanct Androis, sall abid and remane in thir pairttis to thair returnyng, and in thair places to minister and preche: quhairfor they ordane maister Jhonn Spens (and four others) to pas to the said maister Gudman, offer him in thair names all honorable intertenement, *and caus the stewert of Jhonne Knox hous to keip table to him vpoun the townis expenssis and ordanis the said Alexander Park to pay the samyn ouklie.*"[1]

When Knox travelled on Church duty, the Dean of Guild on several occasions accompanied him, and the Council was ever generous with him:

31*st December* 1561.—"The prouest baillies and counsale, vnderstanding that the minister, Jhonne Knox, is requyrit be the hale kirk to pas in the parttis of Angus and Mernys for electing of ane superintendent thair, to the quhilk thay thame selffis hes granttit, thairfor ordanis Alexander Guthre, dene of gild, to pas in companye with him for furnessing of the said ministerris charges, and to deburse and pay the samyn of the radeast of the townis guddis in his handis, quhilk salbe allowit in his compttis and forther to haist the said minister hame that the kirk heir be nocht desolait."[2]

The *Records* also give such homely glimpses as in 1560, "for onie and fyre werk furnesit and maid to his hous";[3] "for thre elnis and ane half of Frenche grein to covre the ministers burd,"[4] and "ane Frenche lecteron buk to Johnne Knox,"[5] and for "ane studie biggit to Johnne Knox, minister, within his ludgein, and for sawinge of ane dussain of daillis to the samyn, the daillis being of the tounis awin";[6] the last that shall be given seems to indicate that Knox was the *possessor of something approaching a revolving book-*

[1] *Records*, p. 183. [2] *Ibid.* p. 129. [3] P. 87.
[4] Accounts, p. 121. [5] *Ibid.* [6] P. 153.

stand; it gives an interesting glimpse of his study life, and perhaps John Schange, the joiner, may have received the idea from Knox himself, and wrought it out. At any rate the Dean of Guild Accounts describe John Schange as "*inventing that consait*":

1561–62.—"Item, to Patrik Schange and his servandis, for makinge of lange skelffis and letteronis and saittis in the ministeris study, be the space of aucht dayis . xl^{s}

Item, to him for makinge of ane greit four square lettrane to the ministeris, turneane upon ane wyce, and for troubling of his spreit in the inventing of that consait[1] xxx^{s}"

Such are several features of the environment amid which John Knox helped most potently to mould the Scottish capital and nation. They help us to recall the Knox *of* history, while the Knox *in* history is written large on the Scottish nation, with the impulses, ideals, and tendencies it received from him. "He never feared the face of man," and the following extract from the *Burgh Records* shows that he won the esteem of the Council, and that they loyally stood by their minister:—

23*rd August* 1565. . . . "The samin day, efternone, the baillies counsall and dekynnis foirsaid, being convenit in the counsalhouse, efter lang ressoning vpoun the dischargeing of Johne Knox, minister, of forder preiching, induring the King and Quenis Maiesteis being in this toun, all in ane woce concludis and deliueris that thai will na maner of way consent or grant that his mouth be closit or he dischargeit in preiching the trew word, and thairfoir willit him at his plesour, as God sould move his hart, to proceid fordwart in trew doctrine as he hes been of befoir, quhilk doctrine thai wald approve and abide at to thair lifis end."[2]

Knox continued minister of Edinburgh till 1672. His grief at the death of the Regent Moray told upon his health, and the defection of Kirkcaldy of Grange, who espoused the cause of the

[1] *Records*, p. 156. [2] *Ibid.* p. 200.

Queen, and held the Castle of Edinburgh in her favour, still more intensified his infirmity. His life was threatened, and acting on the advice of his friends he retired to St. Andrews. The citizens sent a deputation expressing their earnest desire "that his voice might be once more heard among them." He yielded to the request, reached Edinburgh by slow stages, and preached in the Great Kirk. "But because his voice was felled and wake, and thairforis culd not be hard of the whole multitude that convenyit, he desyred thame to provide for that place; for he confessed that his voice was never able (the best tyme that ever he was) to extend to all that come together in Sainct Gillis Kirke, and meikle les now was it able to satisfie the auditore seeing that he wes so weak and his voice so far spent."[1] Calderwood also states:[2]

"Mr. Knox came to Edinburgh the 23rd of August (1572), and preached the last day of August, in the Great Kirk. But becaus his voice was become weaker, he desired another place to teache in, if it were but to an hundreth persons: which was granted. When Mr. James Lowsone came, Mr. Knox preached in the Tolbuith, where he continued, so long as God gave him strenth."

Before Knox's return to Edinburgh, Craig had gone to Montrose. James Lawson, sub-principal of Aberdeen, had been chosen as his successor, and on the 9th of November Knox presided at his ordination. He preached the sermon in the Tolbooth,[3] but came into the "Great Kirk" afterwards with the congregation, and ascending the pulpit, put the usual questions and gave the charge to the new minister. His voice was so weak, that few heard him. He spoke "on the dutie of a minister and the dutie of the flock. He praised God that He had given them one in his rowme, and desired God to augment His graces in him a thousandfold above that which he had, if it were His pleasure, and so ended with the blessing."[4]

"He then," says Dr. Cameron Lees, "descended the pulpit,

[1] Bannatyne's *Memorials*, p. 263.
[2] *History*, iii. 224.
[3] See pp. 77, 98, 109, 113.
[4] Calderwood, iii. 230.

and leaning on the arm of an attendant, tottered feebly out of St. Giles, where he had laboured so long, down the High Street. The congregation poured out of the church after him, and followed him with eager eyes, many of them believing they would never see him again. Their premonition was true. He went home to die. So this great historic figure disappears from the pages of our story."[1]

The Great Kirk of Edinburgh was thus the Parish Church of Edinburgh during Knox's ministry. The burgh was one parish. After his death, and until about 1584, this arrangement continued, and in the Register of Ministers the clergy who served the parish are thus referred to:

"Maister James Lowsoun, Johnne Dury, Mr. Walter Balcanquell } Ministeris, sustenit be the Toun.
Johnne Cairnis, reidare thair, sustenit be the Toun."[2]

[1] *St. Giles, Edinburgh: Church, College, and Cathedral*, p. 158. [2] P. 73.

CHAPTER III

THE GREAT KIRK OF ST. GILES AS THE PARISH CHURCH OF THE SOUTH-EAST PARISH, AFTERWARDS THE TRON PARISH OF EDINBURGH

CHAPTER III

THE GREAT KIRK OF ST. GILES AS THE PARISH CHURCH OF THE SOUTH-EAST PARISH, AFTERWARDS THE TRON PARISH OF EDINBURGH

ST. GILES after the Reformation could hold three thousand people, and obviously a congregation of this size on *special* occasions and of lesser size on *ordinary* ones, required subdivision. The congregation was both beyond the strength of one voice, however powerful, and beyond the pastoral care of one minister and assistants, however dominant they might be, both individually and unitedly. At an early date we can trace in the *Records* the process of parochial division begun.

Thus:

7th January 1580–81.—"The provost bailies and council ordanis Jhon Harwood, dene of gild, to cause pauiment the new kirk in the Eist end of the hie kirk with pauiment stayne sufficientlie in all pairtis quhair it sall be fund necessar, with the avyse of the maist expert, and to agre with the warkmen the best cheip he can, and to enter thairto with diligence."[1]

11th Jannary 1580–81.—"Ordanis Alexander Vddert, baillie, William Littill, and Henry Nesbet to visie the compt of the extent for the Kingis Grace entrie, and se quhat tymmer was bocht, quhair

[1] *Records*, p. 191.

the sam is employet, and swa far as may be fund to mak inuentor thairof, and the sam swa far as is haill and extant may be delyuerit to Jhon Harwod, dene of gild, for to be saittis and vther tymmer wark in the new kirk."[1]

25*th January* 1580–81.—"Ordanis Jhonn Harwod, dene of gild, to enter to the tymmer wark of the new kirk, in the eist end of the hie kirk of this burgh, and provyde all sortes of tymmer requisit thairinto, with the tymmer quhilk restit ower and wes bocht to the Kingis Grace entry, and thairafter to begyn to the said wark, and caus the same be perfytet and maid in daskis saittis, and vther siclyke as he can best devyse with the avyse and counsale of Henry Nesbet, William Littill, Robert Bog, and Andrew Sclater, quhais jugement and counsale thai ordane him to tak in the said wark."[2]

This church, thus formed, was called the "New Kirk," the "Little Kirk," or the "East Kirk," whereas the mother church, from which it was detached, retained the names of the "Old Kirk," the "Great Kirk," the "Hie Kirk," and the "Mid-Kirk." These names were still associated with the sections, and were used discriminately even after the Revolution Settlement, which brought subsequent divisions within the edifice.[3] Each received a collegiate ministry, and within St. Giles, represented different parishes—the Little Kirk being the place of worship for the North-West Parish and the Great Kirk for the South-East Parish of the town.

The process developed still further, and would have done so earlier but for the constant struggles between the Kirk and the King—the former struggling for its spiritual independence and the latter for an absolutism, which implied an Erastianism, ever distasteful to the spirit of the Church of Scotland. In 1584 in theory, but not till 1598 in practice, Edinburgh was divided into four parishes (corresponding to the four Council quarters), and the North-East Parish received Trinity College Church, the North-West the

[1] *Records*, p. 192. [2] *Ibid.* p. 194. [3] See p. 104, Minute, 2nd January 1739.

Little Kirk of St. Giles, the South-East the Great Kirk of St. Giles, the South-West the Upper Tolbooth, having previously worshipped in the Magdalene in the Cowgate[1]—then a fashionable suburb of Edinburgh. This fourfold parish division continued till 1641, when the Tolbooth Parish was erected by the Town Council,[2] as an additional one for the town, while in 1655 part of the South-East or Tron Parish was disjoined[3] and formed into the parish of Lady Yester.[4]

The following references from two authorities put the question of the Tron as representing the Great Kirk of St. Giles or the South-East Parish of Edinburgh, beyond doubt:—

"This was the day of the admission of the ministers to their particular quarters, to witt, the 18th of Aprile (1598). The north-east quarter resorted to the (Trinity) Colledge Kirk, to receave Mr. Walter Balcalquall and Mr. George Robertsone; the south-east quarter to the Great Kirk, to receave Mr. William Watsone and Mr. John Hall; the south-west quarter to the Upper Tolbuith, to receave Mr. Robert Rollock and Mr. Peter Hewat; the north-west quarter resorted to the East or Little Kirk, where Mr. Robert Bruce and Mr. James Balfour sould have beene receaved."[5]

"The names of Edinburgh ministers at this tyme (1630) are these: For the South-west Kirk, called commonlie the Grayfriers' Kirk, Mr. Andro Ramsay, Mr. James Fairlie; for the Great Kirk, *called commonlie St. Geill's Kirk*, Mr. William Struthers, Mr. Alexander Thomson; for the Little Kirk of St. Geillis, Mr. John Maxwell, Mr. David Mitchell; for the North-east Kirk, called commonlie the Colledge Kirk, Mr. Thomas Sydserf, Mr. Harie Rollock; forby the Principall of the Colledge and Professor of Divinitie."[6]

[1] Fasti, i. 39. [2] *Ibid.* i. 49. [3] *Ibid.* i. 61.

[4] Lady Yester, who founded Lady Yester's Church, was the third daughter of Mark, first Earl of Lothian, and wife of James, seventh Lord Hay of Yester. Her eldest son was John, eighth Lord Hay of Yester, who was raised to the dignity of Earl of Tweeddale by patent, dated at Newcastle, 1st December 1646. Her second son was the Hon. Sir William Hay of Linplum. She died in 1647 in her seventy-fifth year.

[5] Calderwood's *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, v. 713.

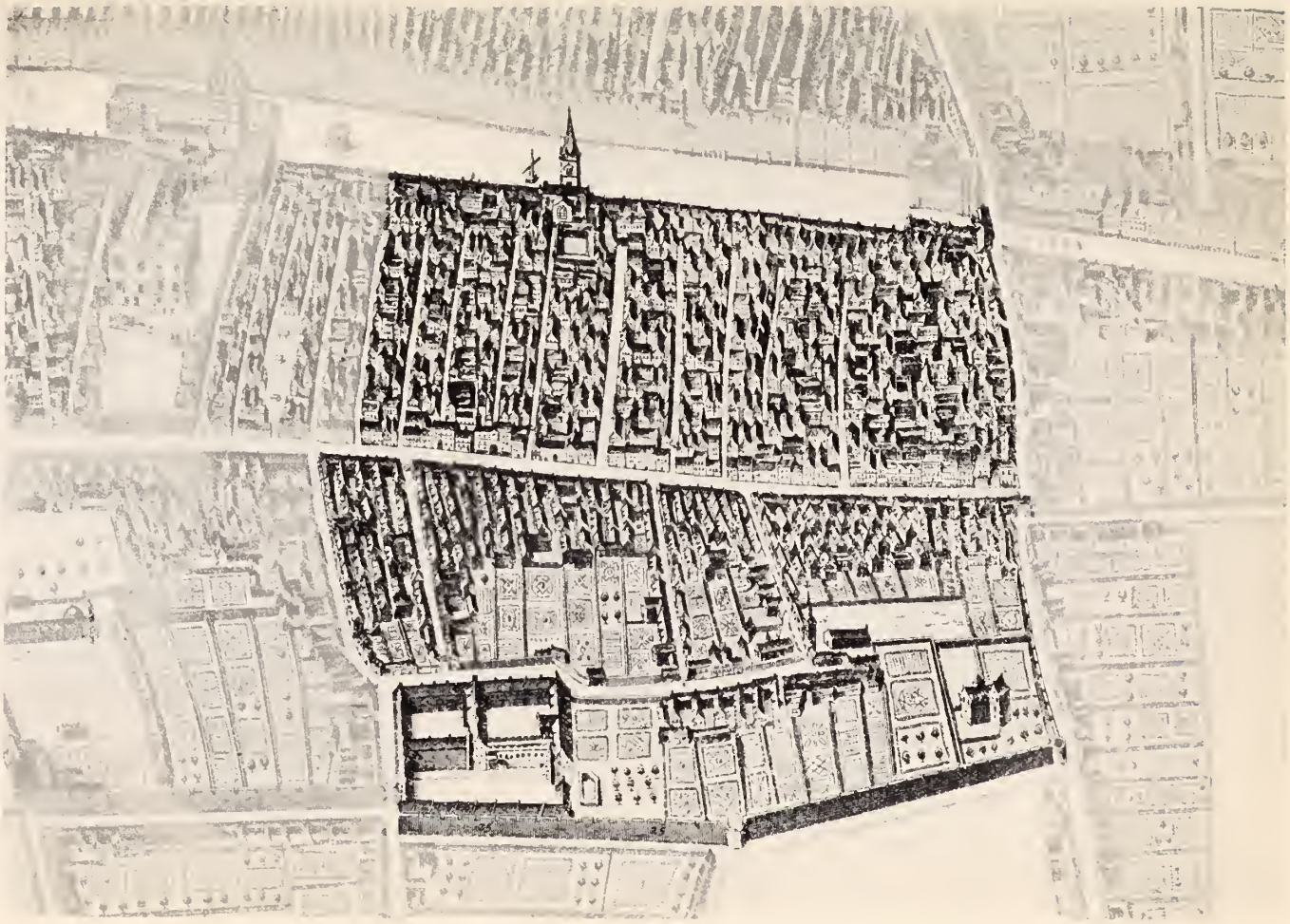
[6] Row's *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, p. 352.

Thus, both Calderwood and Row, writing of distinctly different periods, separated from each other by an interval of thirty-two years, agree in stating that the South-East Parish of Edinburgh, afterwards the Tron Parish, worshipped in the Great Kirk, "called commonlie St. Geill's Kirk"; and Birrell's statement makes it clear that the Little Kirk was used for teaching doctrine, as preaching was then called, but not for "marriage and baptism," till 1598.[1]

In 1633, when Edinburgh was erected into a bishopric, and the Tron Kirk was ordered to be built for the South-East Parish, it is beyond doubt that the Tron congregation was worshipping in the Great Kirk, and so the thesis is well established that the *old* Tron congregation represented the preponderating majority of the historic congregation of John Knox, worshipping in the part of St. Giles, where it was his custom to preach, and that the East or New or Little Kirk was an extension of it, for practical purposes. The present research into the original sources of information leads to a result similar to what Mr. Findlay in his excellent lecture on the Tron Kirk indicated:[2]

"John Knox was the first minister of the Tron Congregation, and the great church in which he ministered, and in which that last episode happened, was our first place of worship. Strictly speaking, all the old city parishes might claim this honour, because up to this time Edinburgh had but one minister and but one church. But Knox and St. Giles' Church are more immediately connected with our parish and congregation for this reason, that when, some years afterwards, Edinburgh was, for the first time, divided into four quarters or parishes, and St. Giles was partitioned off into separate churches for their accommodation, that part in which Knox preached, and which was still called, after he was gone, the Gritt Kirk, or the Old Kirk, was the place assigned for the worship of the South-East or Tron quarter of the city; and the Tron congregation, from the very beginning till the day when they removed to their present building, never had any other church than that in which the great

[1] P. 96. [2] Pp. 8, 9.



THE DARKER PART SHOWS THE SOUTH-EAST PARISH OF EDINBURGH (AFTERWARDS TRON) IN 1625.

Reformer preached. What part of St. Giles that Old Kirk was, it is now almost impossible to say precisely, so inextricably confused are the notices which we have of the many changes made in the interior of the building. We can only say, generally, that it was the part under the tower, and including a portion of the nave, or western half, of the church. What is important for us to know, however, is quite certain, viz., that that was the place where Knox preached, and where the Tron congregation worshipped, both in his time and for half a century after, until they left it for the present Tron Kirk."

One of the chief reasons for this was the size of the parish, which included within its bounds the residential district of the Cowgate, where dwelt so many of the leading families of Scotland, and among whom Presbyterianism was so strong. In fact, Gordon, in his map of 1647, giving a bird's-eye view of Edinburgh, thus refers to the south side, where the Tron Parish was: "the names of wyns and closes in the south-syde of the towne (58 in all), *exceeding streets elsewher in the number of induellers and fairnes of houses.*" To study this map is to see at once by comparing the south-east with the other parishes or quarters of the town, that it required the Great Kirk to accommodate its people, and so large was it, that Lady Yester's Church had to be built and the College part of the parish disjoined from it, to make the parish at all workable by the Tron collegiate clergy. The Council Minute thus defines it: 25*th November* 1625—"the South eist quarter begins at Connes Close exclusive upon the Southsyid of the hie Street to the Nether Bow including the eist syid of the potterraw port with the eist syid of the Horss Wynd the said port to the New Well togidder also with the South syid of the Kowgait from the said Horss Wynd and the north syid of the Kowgait from Connes Clois exclusive to the Kowgait Port." To examine these bounds with Gordon of Rothiemay's map is at once to see that the Tron Parish was the biggest in Edinburgh in 1625, and included the preponderating number of the residences in the period; it took in the greater part of the High Street, with all the closes and wynds intervening

between it and the Cowgate; it included both sides of the Cowgate, from near the Society with its gardens to the foot of the present St. Mary's Street; it was the parish within which were the College and the Kirk o' Field; it touched the Potter-Row suburbs, skirted around the City Walls to the St. Mary's Wynd suburbs and the Pleasance suburbs respectively, reaching the Cowgate Port and the St. Mary's Wynd Port, up St. Mary's Wynd to the Netherbow again, and passing thence up the High Street to Connes Close near the Parliament Close. When one reviews this area in relation to Old Edinburgh, and compares it with the other parishes of the town, it is seen that it was the largest parish, and that the one coming next it both in size and population was that of Old Greyfriars. It becomes at once intelligible, with the right perspective of the period, to understand how its church was called the Great Kirk, and that it represented the outstanding majority of the congregation of John Knox.

My contention is that the *old* congregation in the Tron represented the oldest and largest congregation in St. Giles, and was not only the original main congregation of John Knox, but remained the parent congregation after the other three parishes in the Old Town of Edinburgh were formed. The evidence in favour of this is strong, with the exception of two statements, which are explicable in the light of historical events.

The first is that on 14th October 1584, St. Geill's Kirk or the Great Kirk is given to the south-west quarter, and the Magdalene Chapel to the south-east quarter,[1] within the Ports, *i.e.* between the West Port and the Cowgate Port. But the division was not carried out till 1598.[2] Birrell's statements put this beyond question.[3] It was the period when the Kirk was struggling with the King, and the contention was a long and a bitter one. The strongest opposition was in the Great Kirk, and in the very year when Birrell states the proposal of 1584 was carried out, namely, 1598. Calderwood (already quoted) states that the South-

[1] See p. 99 [2] Fasti, i. 1. [3] See p. 96.

East Parish was in the Great Kirk, with Mr. Watson and Mr. Hall as ministers.[1] Now the proposal of 1584 was in the year of the "Black Acts," when King James was not only known to be trafficking with Rome, but when Parliament declared in May that the King was head of the Church as of the State; that no Assembly of the Church could be held without the King's sanction; that bishops should be appointed, and that the King should have the appointment of them; and that no minister should express his opinion on public affairs under pain of treason. The ministers were courageous, and when Lawson in the Great Kirk protested against the "Black Acts," Arran, who had great influence at Court, swore "that if Lawson's head were as great as a hay stack, he would cause it leap from his hawse (throat)." This was on 24th May, and on 26th May a warrant was issued for his apprehension, but he and Balcanquall and Cairns fled to Berwick; the town was in confusion, and on 11th June 1584 the Council petitions the King that the ministers now in England, "be nocht burthenit with any thing hurtfull to thair consciences."[2] But the King was obdurate, and the people absented themselves from kirk. The bishops were hooted in the streets; the ministers were without churches, and when Adamson appeared in an Edinburgh pulpit the majority of the congregation left the church. The *Burgh Records* bear abundant reference to the turmoil,[3] and the people "passis to vther kirks about and adjacent this burgh, quhairvpon can nathing insew bot confusioun and contempt vnles speidie remeid be provydiet in tyme to cum." With regard to Cairns, the reader in the Great Kirk, the *Records* state that a petition was sent to the King at Stirling begging "that John Carnis may be sufferit to return to this toun for serving in the said place . . . and stating that the pepill is all bent vpone Johne Carnis."[4]

The Tulchans were despised, and the temporary expedient of 1584, if ever carried out, was of very short duration, and the South-East Parish was soon restored from the Magdalene Chapel to the

[1] *History*, v. 713. [2] *Records*, p. 342. [3] *E.g.* iv. 400. [4] *Ibid.* p. 440.

Great Kirk. For the short time of the expulsion, the congregation that took its place was the neighbouring one in the town on the south side—that represented by the historic Old Greyfriars. The temporary displacement of the south-east congregation arose solely from its opposition to the King, and the expatriation of its clergy is sufficient evidence for this.

The other difficulty arises in the year 1625, when, "in obedience to an act of Secret Council, dated Nov. 1st, and in fulfilment of Articles agreed on at his Majesty's desire (*inter alia*) the N.W. parochin is appointed for the Hie Kirk or Great Kirk, and the S.E. (afterwards Tron) for the New or Eist Kirk."[1] In other words, the South-East is made the Episcopal congregation, with William Forbes (afterwards Bishop Forbes) and John Maxwell as ministers.[2] But the people would not come to hear them, and in a few months Dr. Forbes returned to Aberdeen, and Mr. Maxwell was soon made Bishop of Ross. So that this change again was of short duration, and, as Row states definitely, by 1630 (although probably considerably before this) the South-East Parish was located in the Great Kirk.[3]

It was to remain there until the Tron was built, and with these two brief displacements (caused by the Episcopal tendencies of the King) it was from 1560 to about 1584 part of the Great Kirk congregation of St. Giles, from about 1584 to 1650 the Great Kirk congregation itself, and represented both in spirit (as its opposition to the King manifests) as well as in historic fact the greater part of the congregation of John Knox, and worshipped in the portion of St. Giles where he preached—the Great Kirk.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER III

The following four distinctive sources of reliable information both substantiate the position taken up in the chapter, and afford some additional light upon the "Kirk of Edinburgh," division of

[1] See p. 101. [2] See p. 102. [3] *History*, p. 352, in text here, p. 89.

parishes, etc. They also give interesting historical glimpses into the events of the day.

I. The following are from Birrell's *Diary*, with the *Church Histories* of Spottiswoode, Row, and other authorities, and the statements are given in the order of the dates.

The kirks are thus distinguished in St. Giles:

17*th July* 1592.—"Upon ye 17 of July, the Earll of Bothuell, with hes complices, made a fray at Falkland, hes Ma^tie^ being ther, and therafter hes Ma^tie^ came over the vater: and, upon ye 26 day of this same moneth, hes Ma^tie^ made an oratione concerning the same in ye grate kirke of Edinburgh."[1]

17*th May* 1594.—"The 17 May, my Lord Home maid hes repentance into ye new Kirk befor ye Assemblie upone hes knies."[2]

Little Kirk (also called "Mr. Robert Bruce's" and "Easter Kirk").

1595 *General Assembly.*—"It was thoght both necessarie and expedient, for many good causes, that the Kirk of Scotland, now fast falling back from their former zeale and sinceritie, should renew a Covenant with God, that all estates in this land might be better wakened up to stick fast to the sinceritie of their true Religion, and to the amendment of their lyves and conversations. And therefore, in the Generall Assemblie holden at Edinburgh 1595, quherin the King himself wes present, there wes a day appoynted quherin that good worke should begin: and Mr. Johne Davidsone, one of the Ministers of Edinburgh, was appoynted to teache in the Litle Kirk, only Commissioners and Ministers present thereat."[3]

Great Kirk. 1596 *Assembly.*

"The toune of Ed^r^ is desired to divyde their Great Kirk by a partition wall, seeing they have many people and few kirks."[4]

[1] Birrell's *Diary*, p. 27.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 33, also p. 39.
[3] Row's *History*, p. 38.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 432.

6th February 1597.—"The 6 of Februar, being Sunday, Mr. David Lyndesay made ane sermone befoirnoone, and afternoone ane uther to the comons of Edinburghe in the grate kirk."[1]

"The 17 Februar (1597) the King being in the grate kirk of Edinburghe at the sermone, Mr. Patrick Gallaway red out ane tikit, the forme or maner of the devisione of the four kirkis of Ed^r^ ane quarter of the toune to every kirke."[2]

"The 18 of Apyrll (1598) Ed^r^ was devydit in four quarters to be four parochines."[3]

"The 26 of Apryle (1598), Mr. James Balfour maid mariage and baptisme in the Litil Kirk, qlk wes ye first yat wes done in yat Kirk."[4]

"The 19 and 20 of November (1598), the Lordis Supper ministred in all the 4 parisch kirks of Ed^r^, quhilk wes the first tyme after the alteration of the tolbuith."[5]

FALKLAND, *1st August* 1599.—"The King with advice of his Council, at the suit of Niniane M^c^Morhame, merchant, and George Heriot, goldsmith, burgesses and commissioners for the burgh of Edinburgh, authorizes the provost, bailies and council of the said burgh to 'dimolische the wall biggit betwix the eist kirk and the mid kirk of Sanct Geillis, and to tak in ane piller of the said mid kirk, and adjoyne the same to the east kirk, that it may be the mair able to hald the haill parochynnaris of that quarter,' the said commissioners in name of the said town council promising that, whenever it shall please his Majesty 'to require thame to tak doun the said wall now to be biggit, and to inlarge the mid kirk to the same lenth that it is presentlie,' they 'sall do and performe the same, being requirit thairto be the space of ten dayis of befoir.'"[6]

"About the beginning of Aprile (1600), the East Kirk of Edin-

[1] Birrell's *Diary*, p. 42. [2] *Ibid.* p. 45. [3] *Ibid.* p. 46.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 46. [5] *Ibid.* p. 48.
[6] *Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland* (1599–1604), vi. 19, 20.

burgh, where Mr. Robert Bruce teached, was enlarged: and that contentioun between Mr. Robert and some politicians was put to an end." [1]

3rd April 1603.—"The 3 of Apryll, being Soneday hes M. came to the grate kirk of Edr. quher he made ane orisone or harrang to the peipell, in presence of the noblemen of England yat wer yair for ye tyme. At yis tyme, quhad he had made hes orisone in the grate kirk, hes Maiestie maid guid promises: as, namelie, the defending of the faithe, and yat he sould come and wisit his peipell and guid subjectes in Scotland everie thrie yeirs." [2]

Again, it is said, of 1609, "there came doune missives from the King to the Counsell and Ministers of Edinburgh, commanding that the pulpits of Edinburgh should be patent to all Bischops, at all tymes, whensoever they pleased to teach: quherupon Mr. George Gledstaines, Bischop of St. Andrewes, taught on a Sabboth-day before noone, in the Litle Kirk of Edinburgh, called commonlie Mr. Robert Bruce's Kirk." [3]

Four Parishes.—"In the month of December (1625) the toune of Edinburgh was divyded in 4 quarters, making a severall parochin of every quarter, and two Ministers, to everie congregation, *that Baptisme, the Lord's Supper, and Mariage, might be ministered to everie Congregation by their oune Ministers.*" [4]

1662.—"Eftir this, the Toun of Edinburgh wes devydit in sex parochynes, and the Lady Yestiris Kirk closit up." [5]

East or New Kirk is also called "Little Kirk." [6]

The New Kirk is called the "Little Kirk." [7]

Is called also East Kirk.[8]

[1] Calderwood, vi. 27.
[2] Birrell's *Diary*, p. 58.
[3] Row's *History*, p. 110.
[4] *Ibid.* i. 133.
[5] Birrell's *Diary*, p. 383.
[6] Moysie's *Memoirs*, p. 130; Bannatyne, p. 131.
[7] *Booke of Universall Kirk of Scotland*, p. 869.
[8] *Proceedings of Commission* (1646-47), p. 139.

The Brethren of Lothian and the South are to meet in the New Kirk at the Tron (10th February 1648).[1]

II. The following are from Edinburgh Town Council Records anent alterations on St. Giles Church :—

19*th April* 1598.—The Council delays consideration of "the maner of devyding of thair greitt hie kirk."

26*th May* 1598.—Finds it expedient and agrees that "the parpell wall in the eist end of the hie kirk betuix the sam and the vtter tolbuith be tayne doun and sett eister mair to the next gang of pillers *that the said tolbuith may serve for ane Interim mair commodiouslie to the south west quarter.*"

19*th July* 1598.—Ordains "that the parpell wall now standand betuix the greitt kirk of this burgh and the tolbuith be tayne doun and re-edifeyet vpoun the eist syde of the pillers nixt adjacent thairto and concludes that the present lofting sall stand ane Jeisting and lofting prepayret for Swamekill as sall be augmentet."

16*th August* 1598.—The masons refuse "to tak the toun wark in the hie kirk vpoun task or be the ruid beam requyret thairto be my Lord Proveist and Counsall and haffand gottin space to advyse thairvpoun with thair brether thairvpoun his lordship askit acts and instruments."

4*th October* 1598.—The Council concludes anent "the wall of the tolbuith in the west end of the hie kirk that the awld parpell wall betuix the tolbuith and the new wall abone and vnder be cleyne tayne away and the floring Inlairget vpoun dormonts to the new wall and the said new wall compleitt."

20*th July* 1599.—Niniane Mckmorame and George Hereott, elder, goldsmith, appointed commissioners to confer with the King anent "removing of the parpan wall of the eist kirk of this burgh . . . with power to thame to obteyne his majesty's letter for removing of the said parpane wall."

[1] *Proceedings of Commission* (1646–47), p. 348.

29*th August* 1600.—David Williamsone, Dean of Guild, ordained "to caus put up the laft in the hie kirk and sparge the eister wall thairof."

26*th June* 1639.—The King having commanded a place to be prepared for the meeting of the General Assembly to be held in August next, the Council gives instructions that the whole of the east part of St. Giles' Church be enclosed with a stone wall from that pillar eastward where his Majesty's seat is for the present, and the seat to be removed to some other convenient place in the east part of the church. The part so divided to be designed for a parish church for a district of the town to be hereafter agreed upon.

III. The following are from Edinburgh Town Council Records relative to the South-East Parish and the division of the burgh into parishes :—

14*th October* 1584.—The Council for establishing good order in the Kirk, and execution of the discipline thereof, has agreed in manner following, viz. : The whole town to be divided into four parishes according to their quarters as they presently stand, and every Parish to have their Parish Kirk, according to their quantity, the greatest Parish to the greatest Kirk, viz. : St. Geillis Kirk for the south-west quarter ; the Magdalein[1] Chaipell for the south-eist within the

[1] In stormy 1584 the South-East Parish was ordered to worship in the Magdalene, and the reduction of the congregation both indicated their loyalty to Knox and their resistance to the King and Bishops. It is a chapel of interesting memory. The Magdalene Chapel was founded in 1503, and, according to Maitland, was erected on the site of a ruinous hospital called *Maison Dieu* by Michael Macquheen, citizen of Edinburgh. It was further endowed by Janet Rynd, his relict and executrix, who dedicated it to Mary Magdalene, and in 1547 granted it to the Corporation of Hammermen. The windows still possess at least four panes, which are not only the oldest, but the solitary surviving specimens of pre-Reformation stained glass in Scotland. They faced a nobleman's garden and thus escaped the fury of the iconoclastic mob at the Reformation. On the right upper pane are the Scottish lion, crown and thistles in rich colours ; the left bears the arms of Mary of Guise ; while the right and left lower panes have the initials and arms of the founder and foundress.

The great interest of the chapel centres in the fact that it was the meeting-place of the first General Assembly of the Church of Scotland on 20th December 1560. The brethren who then met were forty in number (only six of them being ministers), and there was no

ports, the New Kirk for the north-west, and the Trinitie College for the north-eist and the Canongate head without the port, and to this effect the said College to be enclosed within the town and a gate to be struck out in the town wall at the foot of Halkerstoun's Wynd to serve as a passage to the said kirk. Also every one of these kirks to have their own particular Reader and every parishioner to come to the prayers, communion, repentance, baptism and marriage in his own parish kirk. And the Provost, Bailies, Council and Deacons with advice of the Ministers to elect out of every parish three elders and four Deacons who shall convene all together every Thursday, with two Bailies and four of the Council of the town, to take order anent the correction of the manners and support of the poor.

10*th November* 1592.—The Council ratifies and approves the division of the Town into eight parishes as set down by the Sessions of the Kirk.

17*th June* 1597.—Commissioners appointed to compear before his Majesty and the Commissioners of the General Assembly to intimate that the Town has been divided into eight parishes and to request that eight Ministers of such worthiness and qualifications as the places require, and of whom his Majesty and the congregation approve, shall be appointed to these parishes—the Council having

moderator. It may thus be called the "Cradle of the Reformed Church of Scotland," since Knox here deliberated with his co-Presbyters; here John Craig, his colleague, preached in Latin until he had recovered the use of his mother-tongue, and Alexander Henderson lifted up his voice within its walls. Andrew Melville presided over the General Assembly of 1578 which met in the Magdalene and sanctioned the Second Book of Discipline.

"The Generall Assemblie conveinit at Edinbruche in Apryll 1578 in the Magdalen chapell. Mr. Andro Melville was chosin Moderator, whar was concludit that Bischopes sould be callit by their awin names, or be the name of *Breither* in all tyme coming, and that lordlie name and authoritie be banished from the Kirk of God, quhilk has bot a Lord Chryst Jesus." "From this time," writes M'Crie, "the Book of Policy, as it was then styled, or Second Book of Discipline, although not ratified by the Privy Council or Parliament, was regarded by the Church as exhibiting her authorised form of government; and steps were immediately taken for carrying its arrangements into effect by erecting presbyteries throughout the kingdom, and committing to them the oversight of all ecclesiastical affairs within their bounds, to the exclusion of bishops, superintendents, and visitors."

arranged, with assistance of the Members of the College of Justice, to pay them competent stipends.

27th November 1601.—The Council with the four Sessions Old and New, and a great part of the honest neighbours of the Burgh, having considered a letter from his Majesty commanding them to divide the Burgh into as many parishes as the number of the ministry there may serve, they find that the Burgh having lately been divided into eight parishes and four kirks, and eight Ministers appointed thereto (and the same having been authorised and allowed by his Majesty and the General Assembly), that it is not good to alter this order already established, confirmed and put in practice.

25th November 1625.—In obedience to an Act of Secret Council, dated 1st Novr. inst., and in fulfilment of Articles agreed upon at his Majesty's desire, the Council "devyds and distinguisches the haill Toun of Edinburgh, including the Westport, Kowgait Streit and heid of the Cannogatt and inhabitantis thairof in four parochins and apointes the Limittes of ilk parochin to be as efter followis viz." :—*inter alia*, "The Southeist quarter begins at Connes Clois exclusive vpon the Southsyid of the hie Street to the Nether Bow including also that pairt of the Kowgait including the eist syid of the potterraw port with the eist syid of the Horss Wynd the said port to the new well togidder also with the South syid of the Kowgait from the said Horss Wynd and the north syid of the Kowgait from Connes Clois exclusive to the Kowgait Port.

"And appointes for the northwest parochin the hie kirk for the northeist the college kirk for the southeist the new or eist kirk and for the southwest the gray frier kirk and als agries and condiscendis that thair salbe tua ministers provydit for ilk parochin, sua that thair salbe aucht in the haill quhairof the Principall in the College sall not be ane. And elects for ministers of the Hie Kirk and northwest parochin Mr. Patrick Galloway and Mr. Williame Struthers for the new or eist kirk and southeist parochin Mr. Williame Forbes for the southwest and gray frier kirk Mr. Andro

Ramsay for the northeist parochin and College kirk Mr. Thomas Syidserff and Mr. Johnne Maxvell and for suameikle as the southwest and southeist parochin ar not provydit with Tua Thairfoir ordanis the full plantatioun to proceid with all expeditioun and siclyik ordanis intimation to be maid to the Archiebischop of Sanctandroes of the plantatioun and distributioun already maid to the effect he may admitt and ressaive the ministers to the churches and thair severall paroches quhairto thai ar elected."

30*th November* 1625.—The Council, with the advice of the ministers, ordains that in all time coming there shall be weekly preachings as follows, viz. :—" Upon tysday in the southwest kirk vpone Wednisday in the hie kirk vpone Thurisday in the College kirk and vpone Fryday in the littill eist or new kirk oulklie and that the Session of the southwest parochin be haldin ilk Tyisday in the efternoone at Tua houris efternoone in the southwest or gray frier kirk and in the College kirk siclyik vpone the Thurisday in the efternoone at Tua houris in the efternoone the Sessioun of the northeist parochin. The Session of the northwest in the hie kirk ilk Wednisday efternoone and the Sessioun of the southeist parochin ilk Fryday in the efternoone in the new kirk and this ordour to indure in all tyme coming."

14*th December* 1625.—Mr. Williame Forbas and Mr. Johnne Maxvell appointed Ministers and Pastors of the Southeist parish.

14*th December* 1625.—The Council, being convened with the two ministers and the elders and deacons of the Southeist parish, appoints the following leets for the election of elders and deacons for the said parish to be intimated from the pulpit of that parish on Sunday next, viz. :—For Elders—" Dauid Makcall (m), James Makmath (m), Johnne Spens, James Dennistoun (Gold.S.), Johnne Ker, wrytter, Alexr. Broun (m), Alexander Monteith (m), Patrik Douglas, baxter, Thomas Bannatyn (m), Robert Purves (m), Johnne Keir (m), Daniell Mallein, wricht." For Deacons—" William Mudie (m), Williame Geddes (m), William Makgill (m),

Thomas Spens, baxter, George Makmorran (m), Cornelius Taillefeir, Dauid Nisbett, baxter, Michaell Gibsoun, Tailzeour, William Trotter (m), Robert Bruce, saidler, Nicoll Rynd, Tailzeour, James Dalzell."

26*th January* 1626.—Mr. David Lindesay, Bischop of Brichen, produced to the Council his commission from the Archiebischip of Sanctandroes for entering and receiving the present ministers of the burgh to their several parish churches.

13*th November* 1633.—The Council instructs the Treasurer to pay £100 to Maister Patrik Skougall[1] for teaching and examining the South-East Parish.

IV. The following are from Edinburgh Town Council Records anent presentation, etc., of ministers :—

31*st March* 1592.—The Council ordains £200 to be paid to Mr. Jhonn Davidsoun, minister, for his travellis tayne in teacheing in the East Kirk.

21*st November* 1593.—The Council grants to Mr. George Robesoun and Mr. Peter Hewatt, ministers and teachers in the East Kirk upon the Sundays in the morning, the sum of four score pounds, to be equally divided between them yearly during their services in the said kirk.

27*th July* 1622.—Owing to dearth of victuals, the Council, as a token of affection towards their ministers, grants them 200 merks each, viz., Messrs. Andro Ramsay, William Strutheris, John Guthrie, William Phorbas and Thomas Syidserff.

14*th December* 1625.—The Council appoints Mr. William Forbas

[1] Patrick Scougal was ordained minister of Dairsie in 1636; was translated to Leuchars in 1645, and to Salton in 1659. In 1664 he was appointed Bishop of Aberdeen, and died in 1682. His distinguished son, Henry Scougal, was a friend of Archbishop Leighton, and was the author of *The Life and God in the Soul of Man*—a book which profoundly interested George Whitefield and John and Charles Wesley. (See Butler's *Henry Scougal and the Oxford Methodists.*)

and Mr. John Maxwell to be ministers and pastors to the South-East Parish.

23*rd January* 1626.—The Council ordains the four Bailies, Dean of Guild, and Treasurer, with John Spier and Daniel Melvill, elders, and William Makgill and David Nisbett, deacons, of the South-East Parish, to attend upon Friday next for receiving Mr. William Forbas and Mr. John Maxwell, ministers appointed by the Council for said parish.

12*th August* 1626.—The Council accepts the resignation of the Reverend Mr. William Forbas owing to the state of his health.

29*th June* 1627.—The Council grants to "the fyve ordinair ministers of this burgh a gratuitie for thair extraordiner paines taken this yeir ilk man thrie hundreth merks."

25*th January* 1628.—David Mitchelsoun, minister of the Kirk of . . . . in the Mernis, elected to the South-East Parish.

9*th July* 1628.—A gratuity of 300 merks to be paid to "ilk Minister of this burgh being sevin in nomber."

26*th April* 1630.—Demission of office by Mr. John Maxwell, one of the ordinary pastors of the South-East Parish—now chosen Bishop of Ross.

29*th April* 1635.—David Fletcher elected second minister of the South-East Parish.

2*nd January* 1739.—Presentation to Mr. Alexander Henrysoune, presently minister at Leucheris in Fyiff, to be one of the ministers of the Great Church of Edinburgh—both places in which are vacant by the deprivation of Mr. James Ahanna and Mr. Alexander Thomsoune.

CHAPTER IV

THE BUILDING OF THE TRON KIRK, AND THE STORM AROUND ITS BIRTH

THE JENNY GEDDES TUMULT IN GREAT KIRK OF ST. GILES.

CHAPTER IV

THE BUILDING OF THE TRON KIRK, AND THE STORM AROUND ITS BIRTH

"Pendent opera interrupta."—PASCAL'S MOTTO.

THE old Tron Congregation represented that of the populous South-East Parish of Edinburgh, and worshipped from the Reformation in the Great Kirk of St. Giles. Their part of St. Giles (the nave and transepts, with a small part of the choir) represented the first Church of the Scottish Reformation *in main*, and was named the "Great Kirk," to distinguish it afterwards from the "Little Kirk," or that of the North-West Parish, which worshipped in the east part of the choir; or, as it was latterly called about 1626, the "Old Kirk," to distinguish it from the "New Kirk," which was at once an extension and a division of it. The first division of parishes took place on 14th October 1584, but it was not till 1598, according to the diarist Birrell,[1] that the parochial division was fully carried out, and the Lord's Supper was administered in all the four Parish Churches of Edinburgh.

The Kirk of Scotland had now been for nearly twenty years Episcopal in its form of government, although an Oxford man visiting Scotland would have had the greatest difficulty in recognising in the Scottish form the Episcopacy with which he had been accustomed in England. The Scottish bishop was sadly shorn of his dignity, and no attempts to restore it would satisfy the

[1] See p. 96.

aspirations of the Scottish people, who had now attained a consciousness of themselves as a nation, which was not to be suppressed by King or Parliament. The bishop was not an organic growth in Scotland after the Reformation, and was rather a gratuitous personage, nailed upon and not indigenous to the Presbyterian system, which was native.

When King James died in 1625, he left to his successor, Charles I., the task of Anglicanising the faith, worship, and discipline of the Church of Scotland, and the spirit of Knox was far too potent a factor in the consciousness of the Scottish people to render it possible. Let us briefly recall the facts.

In 1633, King Charles came to Scotland, and was crowned at Holyrood on the 18th June. On 23rd June he came to St. Giles to hear sermon. His visit seems to have been without warning, and the reader was engaged in reading the Scriptures and common prayer when the King entered. The event that happened in the Great Kirk (or the Tron part of St. Giles) may best be told in the words of Row :—

"On Sabbath, June 23, the King came to the Great Kirke of Edinburgh to hear sermon, and after he was sett down in his awin place, the ordinare reader being reading the Word and singing psalms (as the ordinare custom then was) before sermon, Mr. John Maxwell, minister of Edinburgh, but now Bishop of Rosse, came doun from the King's Loft, caused the reader remove from his place, sett doune there two Inglishe chaplains, clad with surplices, and they with the help of other chaplains and bishops there present acted their Inglish service. That being ended, in came Mr. John Guthrie, Bishop of Moray, clad also with a surplice, went up so to pulpit and taught a sermon." After sermon the King was entertained by the town at a banquet. The festivities were riotous, and the "voyse of men, musicall instruments, trumpets, playing, singing, also shooting of cannons, was so great that no sermon was hed in the afternoon, either in the Great Kirk or Lesser Kirk of St. Geillis."[1]

[1] Row, p. 363.

The impression created is best described in the following words :—

"The people of Edinburgh, seeing the bishop teach in his rochet, which was never seen in St. Giles Kirk since the Reformation, and by him who was some time one of thair ain Puritan ministers, they were grieved and grudged thereat, thinking the same smelled of popery."[1]

Great changes were impending, and in the previous year an indication (praiseworthy in itself) was given :

"In the moneth of August this year (1632) the toune of Edinburgh, being earnestlie desyred be their ministers to provyde another house for to be a Tolbuithe, then a part of the Kirk quher God's word sould be preached, and quhilk sould be a house of prayer, began and founded a faire great house, to be a house for holding of Parliaments, and that the Session sould sitt in, and wer verie bussie in doing of that worke."[2]

The potencies of these events soon became both visible and audible.

On the 29th of September 1633, the King by charter, on the petition of the Archbishop of St. Andrews, erected Edinburgh into a bishopric, appointed the minister of the East or Little Kirk Dean, with the ministers of the College Church, Greyfriars, Tron, Holyrood, Liberton, Tranent, Stirling, Falkirk, Linlithgow, Dalkeith, Haddington, and Dunbar prebendaries.[3] The charter which created Edinburgh a city[4] and St. Giles a cathedral also ordered the present

[1] Spalding's *History*, quoted by Kirkton, p. 29.

[2] Row's *History of the Kirk*, p. 145.

[3] Charter.

[4] In 1633—the year of his Coronation at Edinburgh—Charles I., by his charter of foundation of the Bishopric of Edinburgh, formally erected his Burgh of Edinburgh, the capital of all the Burghs of Scotland, into a city, with all accustomed liberties and privileges, ordaining it to be the Chief and Capital City as well of the newly erected Bishopric as of his realm of Scotland ; but with the special provision that the liberties, immunities, rights, and privileges appertaining to Edinburgh, its Provost, Bailies, Council, and Community as a Free Burgh, should nowise be impaired or prejudiced by this erection, but should remain without increase or decrease, change or alteration, save in its style of

Tron Kirk to be built, so that the Tron's existence is wrapt up in this historical event connected with the Scottish capital. The minister of the South-East Parish[1] was appointed the first Bishop of Edinburgh on 2nd January 1634 (he having previously resigned his charge on account of ill-health), and Struthers, another minister of the South-East (or Tron) Parish, was made the first Dean of Edinburgh. St. Giles' Kirk was given to the new bishop and the "east wall was to be razed to the ground": "Our pleasure is, that with all diligence, you cause raze to the ground the east wall of the saide churche: and siclyke, that you cause raze to the ground the wester wall therein, betwixt this and Lambas insewing; at or before which Tyme we require you to cause finish the New Tolbooth (to include evidently the building at the west part of the church) to the effect it may be for the use of oure Churche and vther Judicatories and Commissiouns, as the Tyme and Occasioun shall require."

Let the process of reconstructing St. Giles be told in the words of Row, which are corroborated by the City Records:

"In the beginning of the year 1634, the magistrats and counsell of Edinburgh sett too workmen to cast doune the parpane (partition) wall that divyded the Great Kirk from the Litle Kirk, as the King had commanded them: quherat neither ministers nor magistrats shew any tokens of grief or miscontentment: but many good Christians, both in Edinburgh and out of it, heavilie complained to God, knowing that to be a great beginning of a desolation to come. . . . Mr. William Forbes (being consecrated Bishop of Edinburgh at Holyrood) taught his first public sermon in the Great Kirk, now made more ample and greater than ever it wes since the Reformation of Religion in this countrie, the first Sabbath of February: but being sicklie, and his voyce weake, albeit there wer many hundreth auditours convened, yet ane hundreth of many heard not his sermon."[2]

Chief and Capital City of the Bishopric of Edinburgh and of the Realm of Scotland.—Sir James Marwick's "Precedence of Edinburgh and Dublin," *Proceedings in the Privy Council* (1865), p. 6.

[1] Town Council Records.

[2] Row's *History*, p. 158.

"By many men's expectation, in the beginning of the year 1635, in January there fell out two rare thinges, the lyke thereof had not been seene since the Reformation of Religion. The one wes, the casting doune that carpane (or partition) wall that divydit the Great Kirk of Edinburgh from the Litle Kirk, quhilk commonlie wes called Master Robert Bruce's Kirk, becaus it wes builded and made up quhen he came first to be minister of Edinburgh, about 50 yeares before this: and quherin had been meikle notable doctrine uttered, and great zeale of Religion shewed be the auditours, all those yeares: yet the King would have it casten doune, that it might be a Cathedrall Kirk, be reason that Edinburgh had gotten a Bischope be itselfe: and albeit Edinburgh wes over skant of kirks before, and the Great Kirk wes now more unprofitable for hearing sermons nor ever of before, yet few tokens of discontentment wes sein in the ministers or magistrats of Edinburgh. Secreit Christians might well make their moane to God.

"The other rare thing that fell out wes, that the Bischop of St. Androis wes made Chancelour be the King's patent, and was installed in that office the 26 day of this moneth of January."[1]

In his excellent and accurate lecture on the Tron Kirk,[2] the Rev. William Findlay says:

"St. Giles became once more, as at the Reformation, one great church. The effect of this arrangement was to leave the Tron parish without a church, worship being conducted in St. Giles solely within the choir or east end, which for eight or nine years had been possessed by the north-west parish. The old church in which Knox and his successors had ministered, and to which belonged the glorious memories of the first hundred years of the Reformed worship in Edinburgh, was no longer occupied, and our congregation, deprived both of its church and of its position as the chief congregation of the city, now worshipped where room could be found behind the congregation by which it had been supplanted. After the restoration of Presbytery, however, in 1639, when the

[1] Row's *History*, pp. 171, 172.

[2] Pp. 19, 20.

choir of St. Giles' was again enclosed to form a separate church, there seems to have been some difficulty in deciding as to which parish should occupy it. In August 1640 it was temporarily appointed to be the church of the north-west parish, but the next year, at the division of the city into six parishes, it was assigned to the north parish, while at the same time our old church, then called 'The Mid Church' of St. Giles', was restored to the Tron parish until the kirk at the Tron should be ready. But this division was not carried into effect till twenty years afterwards, and meanwhile the north-west parish seem to have retained possession of the choir, which they still occupy to this day."

The Council were unwilling, through lack of funds, to proceed in 1634 with the erection of two new churches, and the Records of the Town Council tell their own story. The King held over the head of the Council the threat that he would exact from them a heavy fine, which they had incurred by importation of grain, unless they would proceed at once with the work; and the provost stated that unless the work were at once undertaken, and the repairing of St. Giles carried through, there were no means left to free citizens from the penal statute. The following extracts, directly taken for this work from the City Records, report delay and progress with the King's command :—

13*th October* 1633.—Read letter from the King, of date at Whitehall 11th October 1633, erecting a bishopric of new to be called the bishopric of Edinburgh : "And wheras to that purpose it is verie expedient that Sanct Jeilles churche (designed by us to be the Cathedrall churche of that bischoprick) be ordered as is decent and fitt for a churche of that eminence and according to the first intentioun of the erectors and founders thairof which was to be keiped conforme to the lairgenes and conspecuitie of the foundatioun and fabrick and not to be indirectlie parcelled and disjoynit by wallis and partitiounes as now it is without any warrand frome any oure Royall predecessoures. Oure pleasure is that with all diligence

yow caus raze to the grund the eist wall of the said churche and siclyik that yow caus raze the wester wall therin betuixt this and Lambes ensewing at or before which time we require yow to caus finisch the new tolbuith to the effect it may be for the vse of our churche and vther judicatories and commissiouns as the tyme and occasioun sall require."

1*st November* 1633.—The Council ordains the Dean of Guild to demolish and remove the east partition wall of St. Giles, and think it good that his Majesty should be acquainted with the necessity for the wester wall remaining.

28*th December* 1633.—Overseers appointed who are to treat with the workmen for taking down "the partitioun wall betuixt the gritt kirk and the eist kirk."

3*rd January* 1634.—"Forsamikill as the dimolitioun of the partitioun wall betuixt the gritt and littill kirk is to be begun this nixt weik *quhairby the parochin of the Southeist quarter can not comodiouslie heare the word preached thair as of before* Thairfore ordains the said parochin vpone the Sunday heirefter to resort to the hie Tolbuith both beforenoone and efternoone till furder course be taiken and the weiklie preaching to be in the gritt kirk and ordains this to be intimat out of the pulpitt vpone Sunday nixt."

22*nd June* 1634.—Read two letters from the King, dated 13th and 14th May last—the first "*willing theme with all convenient diligence to build ane churche for the Southeist parochin*"—and the second "willing theme to dimolish the wallis of the Ylles and Vestrie of Sanct Jeilles whair the same is disjoynit from the Churche with the Sang Scoole and Choppes about the same and to repaire the breaches and holles of the wall with ane other for dimolishing the wester wall and all loftis and buildings within the wester pairt therof betuixt and September."

27*th August* 1634.—The Council undertake to demolish the above-named walls, etc., before the end of October 1635: "And

as for the building of ane Churche for supplie of the Southeist parochin of this burgh now destitut of ane Churche the Counsall craives in respect of thair present burdeins as taxatiounes and contributiounes that his Majestie wald be gratiouslie pleased vntill thair nichtboures salbe a littill eased for a lyttill tyme to superceid and in the meanetyme the Counsall will think vpone sume fitting meanes for building ane Churche."

Compulsion is also threatened on "non-contributing" citizens.

21st August 1635.—The Magistrates are instructed to take note of such of the neighbours as do not contribute towards the building of two churches and the repairs of St. Giles.

2nd August 1637.—The Council confirms an agreement entered into between Johnne Bynning, Treasurer for St. Giles' Church, and "Johnn Mylne, maister maissoun, for repairing of the gritt eist vindow in the queir of the said church for hewing and setting vp of the staine worke thairof conform to the plett schewen."

The church at the Castlehill[1] was begun but never finished, and its need was taken away by the Church of Lady Yester being founded and endowed by the lady whose name it bears. She was a member of the Tron, and the parish assigned to it was part of the Tron Parish.

The Tron Kirk, or the Kirk at the Tron, was so called from its proximity to the public Weighing Beam, called the Salt Tron, to distinguish it from the Butter Tron or Weigh-House, which stood further up the street. The site of the Salt Tron was to the south of the middle of the High Street, and was almost directly opposite to the head of the present Blair Street. "It was an erection consisting merely of two or three stone steps, on the top of which was fixed a weighing beam; but it formed a well-known landmark in the city, for here, from time immemorial, not only was all the merchandise that came to the city weighed, but on it also those who had been 'found wanting' in their behaviour—culprits of every degree—were wont to be exposed to the derision of honest

[1] See Gordon of Rothiemay's map.

people. To it was attached the jougs for flyting women and swearers, and not unfrequently some greater sinner than common was pilloried here with his lug nailed to the beam, and sometimes too, when it had served this purpose, the lug was here cut off, or rather the man was cut off and the lug left."

After long delay, the Tron Kirk was begun in 1637, and the foundation-stone was laid on the 4th of March in that year. The City Accounts (here published) show that the work took well-nigh ten years (if not more) to complete. Over the doorway of the church is a large ornamental panel bearing the city arms in relief, and beneath them the inscription—Aedem Hanc Christo Et Ecclesiæ Sacrarunt Cives Edinburgeni. Anno MDCXLI. (This building the Citizens of Edinburgh have consecrated to Christ and His Church. In the year 1641.)[1]

The church at the Tron was so far advanced as to admit of being used for public worship, but it was not entirely finished till 1663. Over and above the difficulty of funds, delay was caused by the political and ecclesiastical upheaval connected with the introduction into St. Giles of the English Service Book of Charles I. and Laud; and as the storm took place in the Tron part of St. Giles, and was fanned by the act of a Tron woman,[2] we here insert the statement of it by the historian Row.

[1] See pp. 134, 138.

[2] The tumult in the Tron part of St. Giles, in which the people of the South-East Parish took such a prominent part, had great results. Dean Stanley says: "It not only suppressed the English liturgy almost until the nineteenth century, but it gave an impulse to the civil war in England, which ended in the overthrow of church and monarchy" (*Lectures*, p. 72). Crawford, in his *History of the University*, says that the service on that day (23rd July 1637) was read in the Old Kirk "on account of the more dignified place of worship towards the east being then under the process of alteration for the erection of the altar and 'other pendicles of that idolatrous worship.'" Jenny Geddes was an herbwoman at the Tron, where her class kept their stalls. It seems that, in the midst of the hubbub, Jenny, hearing the bishop call upon the dean to read the *collect* of the day, cried out with unintentional wit: "Deil colic the wame o' ye!" and threw at the dean's head the small stool on which she sat —"a ticket of remembrance" so well aimed that the dean only escaped the missile by "jouking" or bending. The Scottish Society of Antiquaries exhibit in their museum the clasp stool, for which, says Chambers, there "is good evidence that it was the actual stool thrown by Mrs. Geddes at the dean" (*Traditions*, p. 120). The act of throwing the stool belongs to Jenny by general tradition, although there is a rival claimant in Mrs. Mean, wife

Four months after the laying of the Tron Kirk foundation-stone, states this writer, "in the moneth of July 1637, efter a calme, rose a storme: for the Service Bookes, being now printed, and some of them boght be some ministers, and some professors also, their came out, in writt, Arguments and Reasons why the said Service Booke sould not be receaved in this Kirk of Scotland: showing many

to John Mean, merchant, Edinburgh. Of her it is only said "that she *spoke openly* in the church against the service book." Wodrow's *Diary* states "that many of the lasses that carried out the fray were preachers in disguise, for they threw stools to a great length."

The earliest notice of Jenny Geddes is in Maidment's *Scottish Pasquils*, printed from the MS. collections of Sir James Balfour of Denmiln:

"From pupill, pastor, tutor, flocke,
From Gutter Jenny, pulpit Jocke,
From all such head-controlling taylles,
And from small barkes with too big saylles:
From him that Jesus' name defaces,
And violats all holy places:
And all mad masters of Citharus,
Almighty God deliver us."

Maidment says "Gutter Jennie" was "Jenny Geddes"—the kail-wife, who with her stall occupied the gutter of the street at the Tron. Lord Fountainhall's *Journal* (1665–1667) also refers to her by name (p. 39). The *Mercurius Caledonius* in 1661 thus refers to her:

"Amongst all our boutadoes and caprices that of the immortal Jenny Geddes, princess of the Trone adventurers, was most pleasant; for she was not only content to assemble all her Creels, Basquets, *Creepies* (small stools), Furmes, and other ingredients that composed the Shope of her Sallets, Radishes, Turnips, Carrots, Spinage, Cabbage, with all other sorts of Pot Merchandise that belongs to the garden, but even her leather chair of state, where she used to dispense justice to the rest of her Lang Kale Vassals, were all very orderly burned: she herself countenancing the action with a high-flown flourish and vormilion majesty. This shows that Jenny Geddes was a well-known worthy, and even in 1661 'immortal' for her exploit." Conclusive proof as to her identity is to be found in Phillips' Continuation of Baker's *Chronicle* (1660), where "the great uproar made by those of the meaner sort" is described. "One of them, called Jane or Janet Geddes (living at the time of the narrative), flung a little folding stool, whereon she sat, at the dean's head, saying "Out, thou false thief, dost thou say mass at my lug?" Altogether, this seems conclusive evidence as to her identity and existence, and there is also the old ballad, with Jenny's name referred to:

"Put the gown upon the bishop,
That's his miller's due o' knaveship:
Jenny Geddes was the gossip
Put the gown upon the bishop."

Dr. Lees (in his *St. Giles*) reproduces the woodcut (p. 211) depicting the riot, with stools flying in the air, and in the centre a female, evidently the leader of the fray.

The quotation already given from the *Mercurius Caledonius* shows that Jenny Geddes was included among those regarding whom the diarist writes:

June 1650.—"The newis of his (Charles') landing cuming to the knowledge of the

errors and faults: for the Bischops, in their Synods in the moneth of Apryle, accordingly, had intimat to the Ministers that the Service Booke sould be commandid be authoritie to be redd and receaved in the Kirks: but all Ministers did not receave, but spake against it and them that had consented. Therefore the Bischops commanded all Ministers (to) sie quhat fault they could find in the said (Service) Booke, and give them in at their next Synods, quhilk was to be keepit in October following. But the Bischop of Edinburgh, perceaving some errors of the Booke to be alreadie marked, he thoght good to preserve the tyme quhilk wes granted to the Ministers: and therefore caused print and edict, and send it to all the Ministers of Edinburgh and other Ministers of his Diocie, desyreing them to read it openlie, to advertise the people that the Service Books wer printed: and being allowed by authoritie, wold be read and behoved to be receaved the Sabbath following.

"The Ministers having receaved the edict the 16 day of July, being Sunday, and sould have read it efter the sermon: some of

Estaites of Parliament, sitting heir at Edinburgh, upone the 26 of Junij late at night, all signes of joy were manifested throw the haill kingdome: namelie, and in a speciall manner in Edinburgh, by setting furth of bailfyres, ringing of bellis, sounding of trumpettis, dancing almost all that night throw the streitis. The pure kaill wyfes at the Trone sacrificed thair maudis and creillis, and the verie stooles thai sat upone to the fyre. Eftir a great volie of musketis from the castell, followit xxiij great peces of ordinance."—Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 17.

In a letter of John, first Earl of Traquair, to King Charles I., he says regarding the riot of 1637, "Believe me, Sir, the follies and too great forwardness (I will give it no worse name) of some of the clergy has bred many groundles and unnecessary feares in the hearts of the people, which is fomented by some who profess opinlie, and be otheris who in a more circumspect, the more dangerous way, opposes the good of your Majesties Service. The best (greatest) part of both which ar puritannicallie affected people from whois sect I have seldome found any motioun proceid, but such as did smell of seditioun and mutinie."—Historical Manuscript Commission, Appendix to Ninth Report, p. 258.

Thus Jenny Geddes' stool-throwing not only delayed the building of the Tron Kirk, then proceeding, but was symptomatic of the Scottish spirit, and was epoch-making in Scottish Church history, as far as effect over the people was concerned.

To the right of the steps leading from the side chapel into the nave of St. Giles' Cathedral is a tablet marking the spot where Jenny Geddes is said to have assailed Dean Hanna at the first reading of Archbishop Laud's liturgy, 23rd July 1637, and it bears the following inscription, composed by the late Lord President Inglis:—

"Constant oral tradition affirms that near this spot a brave Scotchwoman, Janet Geddes, on the 23rd July 1637, struck the first blow in the great struggle for freedom of conscience which after a conflict of half a century ended in the establishment of civil and religious liberty."

them wold not read it all, some did cast it doune to the Reader that he might read, and some so read it as it might be sein that they cared not whether the edict wes obeyed or not. Alwayes, Mr. Patrick Hendersone (Henrysone), Reader in the Great Kirk of Edinburgh, refused to read it: and, therefore, afterward, both the Bischop and Counsell of Edinburgh assuired him that he behoved to give over his place, quhilk he condescended unto: so that all that weeke, and the nixt Sonday, in the morning also, he said the prayers with many teares: quherat the people wer wonderfullie moved, considering that he had bein so many yeares in that place, and proved a good and faithfull man in his calling. When this Sonday, the 23 of July, came, the Bischop of Edinburgh, efter the ordinar prayers wer read in the morning, broght in the Service Booke to the pulpit, about ten houres: and his Dean satt in the Reader's seat with his Service Booke before him, in the Great Kirk. In some other kirks the lyke wes done be other Ministers (but in other Kirks there was no Service Booke sein that day). Now, so soon as the Bischop keast up his Service Booke, and began to read thereon, and the people saw the Deane open his Booke also, all the common people, especiallie the women, rose up with such a clamour and uprore that nothing could be heard. Some cryed, 'Woe, woe, and sorrow for this doolfull day!' Others kaist their stuilles at the Deane: others ran out of the kirk with a pitiefull lamentation, so that their reading upon the Service Booke wes interrupted. The Bischop of Sanctandrois, now Chancellour also, and the rest of the Bischops, some of them being in the kirk, cryed for peace and quyetness, but were not heard. Therefore the Bischop left his reading and taught a sermon, but it wes verie short: and efter sermon, when the Bischop came out of the pulpit, and went foorth, he fand the calsay full of people, as thogh it had bein a mercat day, quho ran about him, crying that he wes bringing in a new Religion upon them: quho, being put in a great feare, ran up a stair to have gotten my Lord of Wemyss' lodging, crying that he had no wyte (blame): so that

the people had rather bein in hands with the Deane, but he keept himselfe in the kirk till the tumult wes appeased.

"At afternoone, quhen the Bischop came to the kirk againe, the Magistrats keept the kirk doore, that none might enter but such as they quho wold make no tumult: and they wer such a long space in reading the Service, that it wes untill 4 houres of the efternoone before Mr. Alexr. Thomsone began his preaching, which wes but schort also. The sermon being endit, the Bischop, going home in a coatch with my Lord of Roxburgh, to save himselfe from the violence of the people, wes continuallie persued with stones, untill he came to the abbey unto his oune house. . . .

"This Moneday, the 24 of July, neither wer there publick prayer, morning nor evening, nor no sermon in the weeke dayes: so that Mr. Patrick Hendersone (Henrysone) read not the prayers for 5 or 6 moneths after this: yea, the next Sabboth, July 30, verie few women came to the preaching to the Great Kirk."[1]

It is stated that the mob pursued the Bishop (not Forbes, who had died in 1634, but David Lindsay, who was translated from Brechin as his successor) as he passed down the High Street in the Earl of Roxburgh's coach, all the way to the Tron Kirk, where they got an abundant supply of stones to pelt the carriage! The Dean was exceedingly unpopular, but he prudently resolved to wait within the Cathedral till the storm abated.

1638 was the year of the Glasgow Assembly, when Episcopacy was abolished and Presbytery restored. The walls were once more raised within St. Giles, and the Tron congregation continued to worship in the Great Kirk till the kirk at the Tron was ready for them. After their departure, the extreme west portion of St. Giles (formerly used as the Tolbooth, from which the name of the parish has arisen, and set apart for this parish on 24th December 1641) was appropriated for their use.

As the changes in St. Giles' Cathedral reflect the movements of the times, the following extracts from the Council Record are

[1] *History*, pp. 192–194.

of interest. They carry down the ecclesiastical history of Edinburgh to the Restoration, if not to nigh the time of the Revolution settlement, when further walls were erected. They extend from 1639 to 1667 inclusive:

11*th January* 1639.—"The Counsell finding throw the present skarcitie of churches within this brugh maney people both inhabitantis and vtheris resorting to this brugh are frustrat of divyne exercis vpone the ordinar Sabbath dayes to thair great greif and scandall of religioun and finding for the present vse ane great pairt of the great Church is standing wast which micht suplie the present necessitie Thairfoir they haive thoght guid and expedient that ane new parpall wall be built within the said Church quhairby ane sufficient rowme may be provydit with all dilligence for ane Church for supleing the said present necessitie and as for the place and maner the Counsell will tak the same to thair furder consideratioune."

26*th January* 1639.—The Council agrees "that the said wall salbe built with all dilligence and that thairby salbe inclosit that haill eist pairt of the Church wich formerlie includit the queyr whairby ane comodious and bountifull Church salbe gayned to be designed be the Counsell for such ane pairt of the toune as they salbe pleasit to appoynt the samen for And ordeanes the said wark to be begune with all dilligence."

16*th June* 1639.—The Council ordains "the whole eist pairt of Sanct Jeilles Churche to be inclosed with ane stone wall frome that piller eistward whir his Majesty's saitt is for the present and ordains the said saitt to be removed and to Be plaiced in some other convenient place of the said eist pairt of the said Churche and the said pairt to be designed for ane paroche Churche to such ane pairt of the Toun as heirefter sall be agriet vpone . . . and in the meanetyme ordains the thesaurer to repair the same for the vse of the generall assemblie as the place most fitting and comodious for the same."

19*th July* 1639.—The Treasurer to borrow "Twa thousand merkes for the furder Reparation of the eist Church and prepairing of the same for the generall assemblie."

26*th August* 1640.—The Council appoints "the eist pairt of Sanct Geillis Kirk laitlie repaired and replenished with seattis For the north west parishe of this brugh till farder order be taken anent the divisioun of the Toun in parishes."

21*st January* 1642.—The Council appoints "the west pairt of St. Jeills Churche to be ane Churche for the North West parochine of this brugh And considering that the same must be repaired in windowis and the loft taken doun" orders are given for the work to be done.

The following is *specially* interesting as reflecting the times :—

14*th February* 1649.—Agreement with John Scot, Master Wright, for repairing the East Kirk called the North Parish Kirk in manner following, viz. :—"To lowse and lift the pulpit out of its plaice and sett it wp befoir the pillar now betwix the Kings Seatt and the Counsell loft and there to fix it with seatts for the ministerie and the Reader ane pairt for baptisme and marriage and ane wther pairt for the elderis and deakens—Thaireftir to lift all the seattis that are presentlie wpoun the south and sett them wpoun the north and to lift the seattis presentlie on the north and sett them on the south and to fix and fitt them with easie and convenient entries and best sight and view of the ministers on both sydis. Thridlie, to furnishe and make up all necessar wainscott warke that sall happin to be brokin or neidfull to be helpit or addit to the present seattis and to furneis daills both for the flooring againe of them and making wp of the seattis bunkeris with the beareris and standarts that sall happin to be brokin And for furnishing naills of all sortis and warkmanship. Fourtlie, to tak doun the Counsell loft all alongs quhair it standis and the Kings seatt and my Lord Angus loft and set them wp on the north syde and that they be maid and addit to fill both the arches ane on the

west of the piller opposit to the pulpit and the wther on the eist syd and foirpairt to be maid wp of wainscott warke conforme to that quhilk is allredie wroght and to furneis wainscott treis daills naills of all sort neidfull and scaffolds with ane passage to serve both loftis And the Kings Seatt to be maid betwix both loftis with fyne carved warke The haill foirsaid particullaris to be wroght and furneist be the said Johne Scott For the soume of Eleven hundreth punds money—Mair ane great loft on the east the lenth of it to be lairge betwix the twa pillares and closs bak to the great window with the foirface of it to be weill wroght of wainscott with wainscott pillar wnder it conforme to the warke of the rest of the loftis with ane stair to it and ane course of range pillares behinde the twa first seattis and furnishing timber nailles and warkmanshipp to it For the soume of Nyne hundreth merkis. Mair at the west great loft to be taine doune and broght forward to the twa pillares neirest the pulpit and to goe no farder bak nor the bak pairt of the westmost pillar and to be als laiche as the laiche seattis will suffer becaus of the loft above it Quhich loft above that to be maid of that same volume that the nether loft is both in lenth and breidth and the height thairof to be so that the people in the westmost loft may have ane over ane wther the sight and view of the minister And lykwaynis the seattis and furneis in the highest loft to ascend so that the bak pairt may sie over the foir pairt the minister And for furnishing of wainscott treis and daills and scaffolding and warkmanshipp For the soume of Ane thowsand merkis And the said Jo^{n} Scott to enter to the said warke on Monday come eight dayes And ordaines the Thesaurer to pay the foirsaid soume according as the warke is wroght in maner abone writtin."

23*rd May* 1649.—The Council agrees with John Scott, Master Wright, "to worke and put up ane timber wall betwix the Kirk and the Assemblie hows all alongs to the great portell of ten or eleven fute height and furnishing timber naills thairto And lykwayis to

cutt and lay the great portell als laiche as within a fute to the sol of the staine window without it for letting in the light above it All the haill warke for the soume of twa hundreth pund sterling and the samen to be payit to him be William Reid, Thesaurer of the Kirk according as the warke is wroght."

9th April 1658.—Baillie Jo[n] Jossie haveing presented a Box with the Extract of ane Act of Counsell made in favors of the deceist Alex[r] Erle of Dumfermeling high Chancellor of Scotland Graunting to him and his aires male Earles of Dumfermeling ane Seatt in the auld Kirk wnder the Provosts loft in maner thairin conteined dated . . . day of . . . 1616 quhich Act wes sent be the Earle of Dumfermeling to be considered be the Counsell that a Seatt may be provyded for him accordingly The Counsell Remitts to the Baillie Jo[n] Jossie, David Wilkie, Dean of Gild, and Jo[n] Milne, Deaken, to speak with his Lordship to know his Lordships desyre thairin more particularlie and siklyk appoynts them to consider how the Earle of Tweddell may be accomodatt with a Seatt in the Ladie Yesters Kirk and to report both."

9th April 1658.—Committee appointed to arrange "with Jo[n] Scott Master Wright for repaireing the Isle of the Midd Kirk appoynted to be a conveining hous for Generall Assemblies and Synods and putting thairin such Seatts and Tables as sall be fund necessar for such Assemblies and to report."

13th December 1667.—"Apoynts the Theasurer to floor and lyne that place of Haddrick's holl where the ammunition lyes."

CHAPTER V

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY ARCHITECTURE, SCULPTURE, WORKMEN, AND BENEFACTORS OF THE TRON

CHAPTER V

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY ARCHITECTURE, SCULPTURE, WORKMEN, AND BENEFACTORS OF THE TRON

ACCORDING to Defoe, the Tron Kirk was built after the model of Inigo Jones' St. Paul's, Covent Garden, London.[1] The church was shorn of its length and breadth by the changes effected in opening up the southern approaches to the city in 1785, and prior to that day it was a very stately church with a south aisle now demolished to form Hunter's Square, and with windows removed from its eastern and western gables to permit the formation of the South Bridge on its east side, and of an open entrance to Blair Street on its west. The old steeple was built after the model of the then existing one in Holyrood Chapel,[2] but higher, and according to a design frequently repeated on the public buildings throughout Scotland at the period, the examples of which are fast disappearing. Old St. Nicholas' Church at Leith still preserves the model on a small scale, and the tower of the old College of Glasgow is pronounced by Sir Daniel Wilson to have been nearly a facsimile of the Tron.[3] The old tower of St. Mary's Church, Edinburgh, was a nearly similar design to the Tron, but it, too, has been taken away, and a destructive fire demolished another example of this favourite model at the Town Hall of Linlithgow.

Previous to the commencement of the South Bridge in 1785, the

[1] *Journey through Scotland*, p. 66. [2] P. 213. [3] *Memorials*, ii. 284.

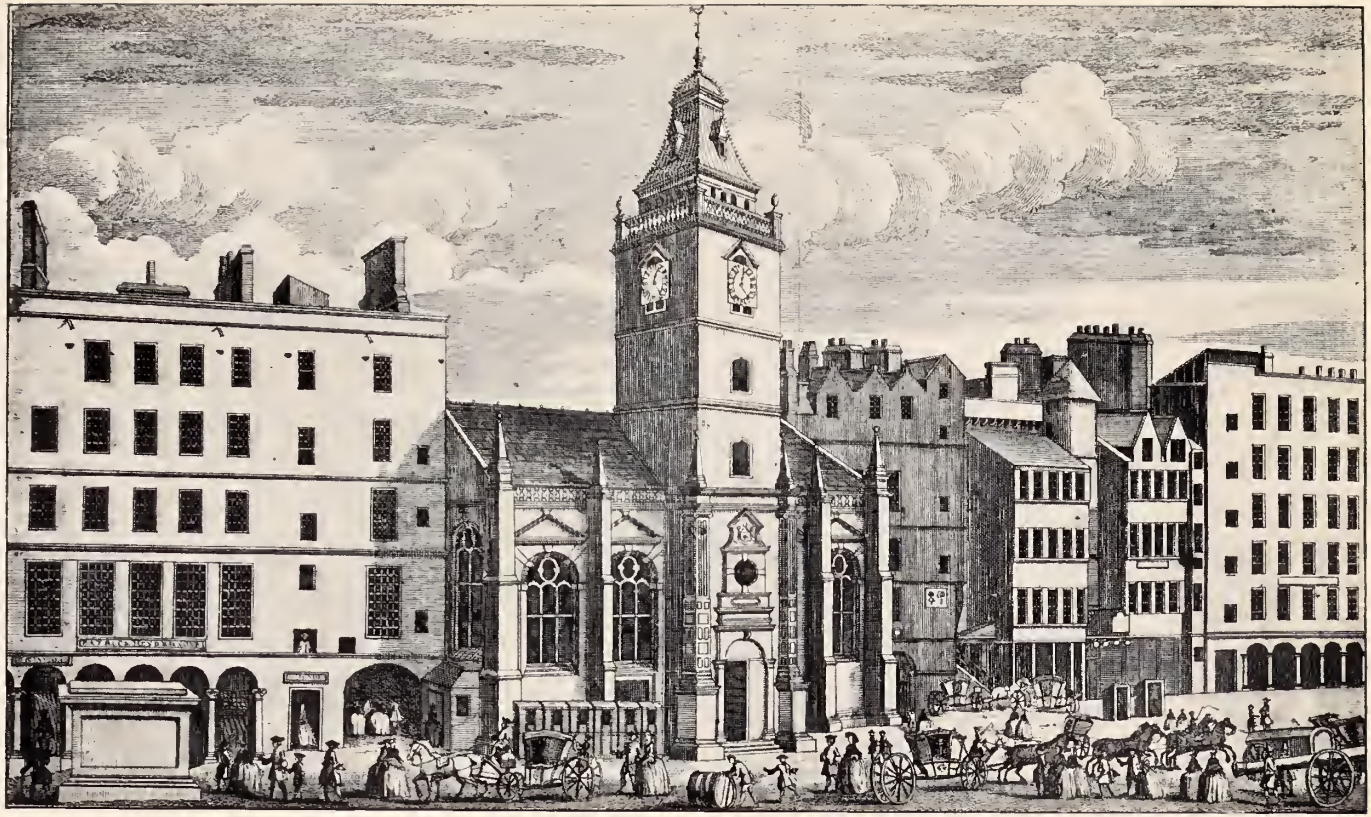
east end of the Tron Kirk, which has been considerably curtailed, "abutted on a stately range of buildings of polished ashlar, with an arched piazza supported on stone pillars extending along nearly the whole front. A large archway in this building, immediately adjoining the church, formed the entrance to Marlin's Wynd, in front of which a row of six stones, forming the shape of a coffin, indicated the grave of Walter Merlioun, who, having been the first to pave the High Street, in the sixteenth century, seems to have considered that useful work his best monument: though he was the master-mason by whom the vaulted gateway of Holyrood Abbey was erected in 1502. The same destructive operations swept away the whole of Niddry's Wynd, an ancient alley abounding with interesting fabrics of an early date, and associated with some of the most eminent citizens of former times."[1]

The old oak roof of the present Tron has resounded to the voices of many great preachers and the praise of the great congregations that have gathered within the kirk walls for worship. It was saved in the fire of 1824, and was of the same design and probably the work of the same hands as that in the Parliament House, Edinburgh.

The Tron was the design of a famous architect—the King's master-mason, and of a great sculptor, his brother. The architect was John Mylne,[2] and his brother was Alexander Mylne.[3]

John Mylne (1611–1667) was born at Perth in 1611. On 9th October 1633 he was admitted a burgess of Edinburgh, by right of descent, and on the same day was made fellow of craft in the Edinburgh masonic lodge. He succeeded his father as principal master-mason in 1636, and in the same year, as deacon of the masons in Edinburgh, was elected a member of Town Council. In 1637–38 he was appointed master-mason to the town of Edinburgh, and designed the Tron Kirk as well as repaired portions of St. Giles. In 1642 he was employed in surveying and reporting on the condition of the Abbey Church at Jedburgh, and was appointed

[1] *Memorials*, ii. 54. [2] See pp. 133, 134, 136. [3] See p. 134.



A PERSPECTIVE VIEW OF THE FRONT OF THE TRON KIRK, WITH THE ADJOINING BUILDINGS, BEFORE THE FORMATION OF THE SOUTH BRIDGE.

a burgess; in 1643 he was appointed master-mason to Heriot's Hospital, and continued the works there till their completion in 1659. In 1646–47 he made additions to the College of Edinburgh, probably including the library. In 1648 he repaired the Crown of St. Giles, and in 1650 he was busy on the fortifications of Leith. In 1666 he commenced the erection, from his own designs, of Panmure House, Forfarshire, of which portions still exist.

The Town Hall or Tolbooth at Linlithgow was erected from his designs in 1668–70, and he made designs for a new palace at Holyrood, a plan of which is in the Bodleian Library.

Mylne's activity was not confined to his professional work. In 1640–41 he was with the Scotch army at Newcastle; on 4th September 1646 he was made by the King captain of pioneers, and principal master-gunner of all Scotland, which offices were confirmed to him by Charles II. in 1664. He was present at Perth on the proclamation of Cromwell as lord-protector in 1654. In 1655, when a member of Edinburgh Town Council, he was accused of having led the town into much expense by a constant alteration of the churches. He retained his seat in the Council till 1664. From 1655 to 1659 he represented the City of Edinburgh at the convention of Royal Burghs, and in 1662 he was elected M.P. for Edinburgh in the Parliament of Scotland. He died in 1667, and his monument in Greyfriars' Churchyard describes him as

> "The Fourth John
> And, by descent from Father unto Son,
> Sixth Master Mason to a Royal Race
> Of seven successive Kings . . ."[1]

Alexander Mylne (1613–1643) was brother of John Mylne, the architect of the Tron, and was a sculptor of great repute. He worked on many of his brother's structures, on the Parliament House and other public buildings in Edinburgh. He died in 1643 of the plague, and was buried in Holyrood Abbey, where a monument,

[1] *Dictionary of National Biography*, xl. 4.

with Latin and English inscriptions to his memory, is fixed against the north-east buttress of the Abbey Church.

The office of master-mason was almost hereditary in the Mylne family, and the first was Alexander Mylne, who in 1517 was appointed Abbot of Cambuskenneth and master-mason to James v. Says the biographer of the family:[1] "An enduring memorial of Abbot Alexander is patent to the eyes of all men and particularly to the learned members of the legal profession, in the richly painted glass of the great window towards the south in the Parliament Hall, Edinburgh. Here James v. is represented as seated on the throne of Scotland, handing the Papal Bull instituting the Court of Session to Abbot Alexander, the first President thereof; while the Archbishop of Glasgow, then Chancellor of Scotland, is standing amongst the nobles in a prominent position, expressing his complete approval of these important proceedings."

The following statements from the City Chamberlain's accounts of the period tell of the benefactions received, of the sums collected from the citizens, of the wages paid to the workmen, and give an interesting glimpse into old Edinburgh workaday life in the seventeenth century:—

The Subjects which stood upon the site whereon the Tron Church is now erected were called—(1) "David Melrose's Back and fore Land," (2) "Doctor Scott's Tenement," and (3) "Ballantyne's Land."

Melrose's "fore tenement" is described as lying at the west side of the head of Marlins Wynd between the tenement of . . . Napier then of Walter Adamson on the East, the back tenement belonging to William Paterson on the South, the Tenement of Saint Mary Magdalen's Chaplain on the West, and the High Street on the North; and the "back Tenement" as lying contigue to the foresaid fore Tenement between the said fore Tenement on the North, the Lands of old of Alexander Gray then of the Heirs of John Jackson

[1] Pp. 34, 35.

on the South, the said Wynd on the East, and the Lands of William Lawson on the West parts.

"Doctor Scott's Tenement" is thus described: All and Haill that Tenement of Land under and above with the Pertinents sometime pertaining to John Adamson, Merchant, thereafter to Walter Adamson thereafter to Mr. Patrick Hepburn of Smeiton, lying upon the South side of the High Street of Edinburgh betwixt the Lands sometime of James Halkerston thereafter of the Heirs of Alexander Clark of Balbirnie on the East, the Lands of the Heirs of William Lauder on the West, the waste Land sometime pertaining to James Halkerstoun and then to the Burgh of Edinburgh, called the Flesh market of the said Burgh, on the South, and the High Street on the North parts—The price paid for this Tenement was £1000 Scots.

"Ballantyne's Land" is described as All and Haill the Laigh fore Booth occupied by Thomas Paterson, Baxter, lying above the Tavern of James Paterson, Baxter in Edinburgh, his Brother, and adjacent to the stone stair upon the fore street; And All and Haill that fore Booth immediately above the Northmost wooden stair and is the first of the Entry of the said stair, with the back Hall of the same, which was a part of William Paterson their father's Land, lying on the South side of the High Street at the head of Marlins Wynd betwixt the Lands of John Napier then of John Adamson on the East, the Tenement of Saint Magdalens Chapel then of Richard Dobie on the West, the Land pertaining to Alexander Thomson, Skinner, on the South, and the High Street on the North.

The price paid for this Land was 10,000 merks.

The first accounts in connection with the building of the Tron Kirk are thus described, viz.:

"The Accomptis of umquhile David M^cKall Thesaurer Appointed be the Counsall for Boolding the Kirk at the Trone for the Southeast Parosch of this burgh: be Chairge and Dischairge In maner efter following Giffin vp be Johne Dennystoun John Rynd and Mr. Niniane Lowis Executoris to the said umquhile David

M^c^call fra the penult December 1635 at quhilk time he wes choissin Thesaurer to the said work to the . . . day of August 1639 yeiris at quhikl tyme he Depairtit this Lyfe."

The charge for that period amounted to £14,001, 7s. Scots, and the discharge to £15,507, 19s. Scots, leaving a balance of £1506, 12s. Scots due to the treasurer at the time of accounting.

Among the items in the charge is a legacy of £2666, 13s. 4d. by Thomas Bannatyne, who in all probability is the Thomas Bannatyne who owned "Ballantyne's Land," and whose name appears in the titles of these subjects—the name Ballantyne and Bannatyne being used indiscriminately.

Another item in the charge is the sum of £1000 "ressaved from Mr. Harie Aikinhead Minister at Northberwick quhilk the Comptar borrowit from him conform to ane Act of Counsall Daittit the 19 of January 1638 to pay Mr. W^m^ Scot Doctor of Physick for his portioun of the Landis of the troan quahairupon the said Kirk wes foundit." There were also collections made in the various quarters of the town, and Lady Yester subscribed £666, 13s. 4d.

The discharge consists of payments made "in acquiring the grund right of the Land quhairupon the said Kirk wes foundit and annuel rentis payit for the same As also the particular soumis of money Debursit upon the work itselff." The items include £1640, 15s. paid to David Melros for his part of the land at the Tron whereon the kirk is built, which sum includes one year's annualrent on the price of "David Melrose's Back and fore Land."

The foundation-stone was laid on the 4th of March 1637, and the entry in the accounts is as follows, viz. :—"The 4th of March when the grund Staine of the Kirk wes laid in presence of the Provost and Counsall laid thair vnder a piece of gold being £12," and there was given "to the Massouns to drink £5, 8s."

The stones for building the church were brought by boat from Culross to Leith and conveyed thence to Edinburgh, and others were quarried at Society,[1] etc.

[1] Probably quarry at foot of Forrest Road. The Society of Brewers probably possessed it.

In the accounts the names are given of the workmen employed—John Mylne, master-mason, received £6 per week (also see p. 134, for payment of £873, 13s. 4d. to Mylne, which shows that the above payment of £6 per week was only a weekly instalment). Other masons and wrights £3, 12s. each per week (about thirty-five men employed). Sand cost 5s. 6d., and lime 10s. to 12s. per punchon, and 6s. 8d., 7s. 6d. and 8s. per load. Apparently the men's time was kept by the aid of a sand glass, as witness the following entry: "To Jo^{n} Levingstoun for ane Sand Glas 10s." Other items are: "To the Lymemen to Drink 6s." "To the water wyfe for 11 Tubbis water £1, 2s." "Bought fra James rewle 12 Twelf footis [measures] £12."

Lawrence Henrysone was the second treasurer appointed by the Town Council, and he retained the position until the finish of the work—his accounts extending from 11th February 1641 to 29th May 1647. During his period of office, from 11th February 1641 to 31st October 1642, his charge amounted to £17,193, 3s. 8d. and the discharge to £15,545, 0s. 7d., leaving a balance of £1648, 3s. 1d. on hand at the time of accounting. The charge side of the account consists almost wholly of amounts collected from the inhabitants, on whom a tax had apparently been levied to provide funds for building the church, while there are also a number of voluntary contributions. One contribution of £133, 6s. 8d. is "from ane persone who desyres not thair name to be expressed," and another of £27 "from ane whose name is secreit."

The disbursements are similar to those of the previous treasurer, and amongst them may be mentioned the following:—"For ane half hour Glas 12s." "For bringing Timber out of the banquetting hous 16s." "2 Long stones for the west window 4 Asleris and 3 postellaris is £6." "For Drink Silver 8s." "For a great Cruik for the frounteir Yett weighing 21 pund half pund is £4, 4s." "For 2 long staines for the foir Entrie £2." "For Drink money when the Kne of the foir yett wes put in and the pend above the yett maid fast £1, 4s."

"To W^m^ Trotter for 200 Dailles to mak a lodge at £40 the hundreth is £84."

"For Rowing and putting Apairt the Tymber in the Parliament Close when the King came to Scotland." "To John Ronnald for 8 peices of pillare stainis at 16s. the peice is £6, 8s." "For inbringing a great stone to ly aboue the window in the foir gate." "For glew with a pig for melting it 12s." "To Jo^n^ Ronnald for a great stone to ly aboue the Entrie at the window £5, 8s." "To Clement Jouris for a Glass window of 16 footes at 6s. 8d. the foote £6, 6s. 8d." "To 8 workmen 2 severall dayes at wailling the plankis in Leith to be the roofe £3, 12s."

"For carving the tounns Airmes vpon a stone given to Alex^r^ Mylne 19 dolloris is £51, 6s." "Mair for culloring the staine with the Armes and taking away the muck from the fore gate £6." "To the maissonis that laid the Key stone in the window."

"Payed to Jo^n^ Mylne for three weekes and a half to a Carver that carved the tounis Armes bot not right done £10, 10s." "To W^m^ Duncane for 2 Iroun bandis to the South Kirk dor weyand 2 stane 4½ pund at £3 the stane is £6, 18s." "For 7½ punscheonis Oyster schellis £2, 13s. 4d." "To Robert Wast for bringing doun from the Auld Kirk be sled draught wall stanis at 16 pennyis the draught is £4." "Bought from Thomas Fleck of Copmaholme 100 plankis of Aik to the rooff at £3, 10s. the dozen is £110."

"To Jo^n^ Mylne, Mr. Massone, by order of ane Act of Counsall for five years service ane hundreth pund yeirlie and for Comptis not payed in David M^c^Call his tyme and for the tyme he wes at new Castell As the Act beiris for all is £873, 13s. 4d."

The accounts from 1st November 1642 to 16th November 1643 show the charge to amount to £14,423, 3s. 1d. and the discharge to the sum of £13,800, 2s. 9d., leaving a balance of £623, 0s. 4d. in the hands of the treasurer.

The charge side of the account seems to be entirely made up of sums collected from the inhabitants by way of a tax, with the exception of £333, 6s. 8d. "received from Gilbert broun

being air and executor to Mr. Nicoll broun to help to build the Kirk."

Among the items included in the discharge are the following, viz. :—"for 40 Seat stones £6." "To W^m^ Duncan for 3 stone 13 pund 3 quarteris pund Irone for Boltis for the Tablettis in the foir wall at £3 the staine Is £11, 5s. 6d." "For dressing the laich parliament hous to work in £1." "For a barrell of Aill and ane dossoun of breade when the Maissonis enterit againe Is £4, 6s. 8d." "For 4 Joastis being 34 foote long to be soillis to the coumb of the pend of the great Ile £17, 6s. 8d. and upbringing of thame £2 Is in all £19, 6s. 8d." "Received for the boltis of the steipill 6 stone Leid at 40 schillingis the stone is £12." "For a pair of cruikis of Iroun for the door of the steepill 18s. 4d." "Item be the water wyfe when the watter wes skant from the North Loch 8 punscheonis at 8 schillingis the punscheon is £1, 4s." "Item out of the Societie two hundreth aught draught wall stones at 8s. the draught £22, 16s." "Given to the Barboris and uther chairges for pansing 9 menis woundis wound in the work upon the 6 of June and for wyne £2, 16s." "Given to 6 workmen the first week that wes hurt in the work £10, 16s." "Item to the 3 maissounis everie one of theme £4 in all is £12." "To Patrick Allane, Maissoun, he not being mendit of his hurt £2, 13s. 4d."

The accounts for the year ending 1644 state the charge as amounting to £9800, 19s. 2d. and the discharge to £9823, 7s. 9d., leaving a balance of £22, 8s. 7d. due to the treasurer.

The charge side of the account is made up of sums collected in the various quarters of the town, and also contains the following, viz. :—"Received from Sir John Smith, present provest at twa severall tymes and from Edward Edzer, baillie in name of Sir John Smith by order of the Councell: fra the old deane of gild wes ordained to be geven for building the Church £3000." "From grissell toures that she left to the building of the kirk £266, 13s. 4d." "Frae James Jak, merchant be ane Act of Councell for a fyne £266, 13s. 4d." "From Andrew beatoun in name of Gilbert

broun his good brother that he left in legacie to the Church £666, 13s. 4d." "From Jo^n^ Fairholme, toun thesaurer, that wes geven be Tho^s^ renny Montrose be vertew of an Act of Conncell £266, 13s. 4d." "Received from the aires of David Aikinheed which he promesed to the Church building £66, 13s. 4d."

The disbursements include the following, viz. :—"To the quarriers of the societie for ten scoire xvj draught wall stones at xj^lib^ the hundreth £19, 16s."

"Brought in be James Heriot Jo^n^ Lawson George Mure James Ferry, James Young Mutton Holl 46 aislers at 18s. a peece with inbringing is £41, 8s." "Payit to John Mill at order of the Councell of the first beginning of this bargane with John Mill the haill soume being £2000 to build the *stipell* 30 *foote higher nor the first bargane* gevin him in part of payment the 7 of February £666, 13s. 4d." "To John Mill, Master Maisson at command of the Councell for two yeirs dewty being £100 by yeir is £200." "To W^m^ Atoun and Ro^t^ Thomson in parte of payment of the second termes payment to Mr. Mill for building the Kirk £233, 6s. 8d."

"From Brughtoun quarrell 100 walestones £22." "To W^m^ Aton and Ro^t^ Thomson of the second termes payment for John Mill for building the steiple £233, 6s. 8d."

"Drinkmoney to the wrights at the draught of the Ile £1." "To John Lawson out of the Mure quarrell 120 peets at 3s. the peece is £17." "For carying 55 planks to the laigh Parliament hous doore at 3s. 4d. the peece £9, 3s. 4d." "Spendit with the Deane of gild, Thesaurer, baillie and Mr. Alex^r^ Guthrie with Jo^n^ Scot in advising about the difference betwix leed and copper for theiking the Church £3, 2s. 4d." "For putting together some great timber in the Parliament Close." "The 25 of October in charges with the comittee for theiking the kirk with leed or copper with Sir W^m^ Gray, George Suttie, John Fairholme, thesaurer and utheris £2, 16s. 8d." "Lost upon light ryalls that would not passe with other false money £15, 10s."

"For 28 pavement out of ravelstoun at 40d. £4, 13s. 4d." "To 30 pavements out of Craigmillar at 40d. £5."

"For 4 stane ten pund towes for hailing the timber up to the roofe at three pund the stane and for upbringing is £13, 13s. 4d."

The last of the accounts in connection with the building of the church are dated 4th January 1645 to 29th May 1647, and show the charge to be £6965, 8s. and the discharge £7598, 16s. 9d., leaving a balance of £633, 8s. 9d. due to the treasurer.

The charge side of the account appears to be made up of voluntary contributions, together with a "legasie of W^m^ Porteous £2000." "Fra Geo. Udward and the Relict of Geo. Rae for Rodger Mure £333, 6s. 8d." and "fra Gilbert Mure Merchant of Legacie of umquhile Rodger Mure £666, 13s. 4d."

Among the items of the discharge are the following, viz. :—"For removing all the timber from a watt place to a dry and telling[1] them in the Tolbooth Close £2, 13s. 4d." "To Jo^n^ Gentleman for 2000 sclait naills at 14s. the 100th is £14." "For butter to help the naills to call and for the crann 5s." "For 4 stone of hair to be plaster at 6s. 8d. the stone is £1, 6s. 8d." "For drink to the workmen and wrights at the taking down the scaffold £1, 12s." "To Jo^n^ Sawers, painter, for colloring the roofe, to ane compt £200." "Given for plastering the kirk 32 dollers is £85, 6s. 8d."

The work was left off on 11th July 1645 and started again on 9th May 1646, and the following are some of the disbursements subsequent to the latter date, viz. :—"Ane Masones charges to go to the ferrie to speak for pavement stones, first to the quarriers to drink 8s., 2nd to the Boatmen to unload the first boats stones 12s., 3rd the mans horse hyre, 4th the Masones charges at the ferrie, Inde £3, 5s." "For unloading the 2nd boat 12s." "For 200 pavement stones at 4s. the peice brought from the ferrie is £48." "For upbringing them at £20 the 100th is £40." "For sending to the Queensferrie for stones the mans horse hyre is £1, 14s." "For carieing 360 stones from Heriots work £15." "Fra Jo^n^ Scott

[1] Numbering.

Smith 3 stone 10 pund of Iron rodes with 4 boltes of Iron to the pulpit at £3 the stone is £10, 17s. 6d." "For carieing the dores and pulpit and readers seat to the kirk £1, 10s." "To Jo^n^ Scott, Master Wright, conform to his compt, for the Pulpit, Readers Seat, two great dores and two smaller, 17 cases to windowes £466, 13s. 4d." "To Jo^n^ Scott in arles in agreeing for the loftes £1, 8s." "Spent with the Dean of gild James Rochead and Jo^n^ Binnie at the agreeing for the pryce of the pulpit and dores £1, 10s." "To two masones 28 dayes for dighting the kirk walls and to 5 masones to make holls to the jest ends of the Lofts and renueing the Letters abone the kirk dore £68, 15s." "To David Sands for 500 and ½ of double flooring nailles to repair the steiple and put on the dailles on it £7, 6s. 8d." "At putting up of the pulpit for aill and bread to the wrights and workmen 15s. 4d." "For 20 fadome of tows to tak up trees to the steeple £3, 6s. 8d." "To Jo^n^ Scott, Master Wright, in part of payment of two lofts building, furnishing workmanship and all materialls £412, 10s." "For 2272 fote of glasse to glasse the whole kirk at 6s. 8d. the fote is £707, 6s. 8d." "More to Jo^n^ Scott, Master Wright, to accomplish his compt in building and furnishing all materialls to the two great Lofts conforme to the conditone made, which was £1100, quhairof he got as is aforsaid £412, 10s., rested which is now payed £687, 10s." "Payit to Jo^n^ Scott, Master Wright, for making the bowndes of the Ministers Seats, entrie to the pulpit, the elders and deacones Seats, the Seats for baptyme and mariage £160."

Note.—Kincaid states in his *History of Edinburgh*, "by the most accurate calculations, the whole expense of this church (Tron) must have amounted to about the sum of £75,000 Scots or £6250 sterling" (p. 194). The addition of the discharges in the above accounts bears out this result. Kincaid also states that "the church measured 65 feet by 52, and on the south is an aisle 27½ feet by 26, all within the walls; and the whole will accommodate 994 persons, per plan in the town cess office" (p. 195).

CHAPTER VI

THE EFFECTS OF THE BATTLE OF DUNBAR ON EDINBURGH AND THE TRON CONGREGATION OF 1650

CHAPTER VI

THE EFFECTS OF THE BATTLE OF DUNBAR ON EDINBURGH AND THE TRON CONGREGATION OF 1650

DURING the military manœuvrings of the Scottish army under their Covenanting leader General Leslie (who was a member of the Tron),[1] in 1650, previous to the battle of Dunbar, the whole forces were drawn up for a time in the open plain between Edinburgh and Leith, and a line of defence was constructed by means of a redoubt on the Calton Hill, and another at Leith, with a trench and parapet extending between them. The position was a splendid one for the defence of the towns and the security of the army, so long as the latter remained on the defensive; but the superior tactics of Cromwell drew General Leslie's forces out of their secure position, and tempted them to follow to their own destruction.

The victory at Dunbar placed the southern portion of Scotland completely in the power of Cromwell, just at the moment when he was preparing to abandon his enterprise and embark his troops for England. The magistrates, ministers, and leading inhabitants, who were involved in the movements of the defeated party, either deserted the town or took refuge in the Castle on the approach of the victorious general. Cromwell entered Edinburgh on 7th September 1650 with his army, and took possession of it and

[1] See p. 151.

Leith. Edinburgh was subjected to martial law, and the most stringent regulations were imposed, such as "that upone ony allarum no inhabitant luik out of his hous upone payne of death, or walk on the streets after top-tow, upone payne of imprissonement."[1] Justice was impartially and rigidly dispensed, and the strictest discipline was enforced on the English troops. "Upon the 27th of September," says Nicoll, "by orders of the General Cromwell, thair wes thrie of his awin sodgeris scurged by the provest Marschellis men, from the Stone Chop to the Neddir Bow, and bak agane, for plundering of houssis within the toun: and ane uther sodger maid to ryde the Meir at the Croce of Edinburgh, with ane pynt stop about his neck, his handis bund behind his back, and musketis at his feet, the full space of twa hours, for being drunk"[2]—a mode of punishment which remained in force till the destruction of the old citadel of the town-guard, and all its accompaniments, in 1785.

Cromwell again, as in his first visit early in 1648, took up his residence in "the Earl of Murrie's house in the Cannigate," and his soldiers were quartered in the Palace, and billeted about the town, while actively engaged in the siege of the Castle. The guard house was in Dunbar's Close, which is believed to have retained this name from the quarters it afforded to the victors of Dunbar. Tradition, too, points to a handsome old house at the foot of Sellar's Close as having been an occasional lodging of Cromwell. "It is a fine antique mansion," says Sir Daniel Wilson, "with two terraced roofs at different elevations, guarded by a neatly coped parapet wall, and forms a prominent feature in the view of the Old Town from the north. Its terraced roofs offered the special attraction that they commanded an extensive view of the Forth, where the English fleet then lay."[3] Throughout the winter of 1650, the stately halls of Moray House were crowded with parliamentary commissioners, as well as military and civil courtiers, who were attendant on the General's levee.

[1] Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 30. [2] P. 33. [3] *Memorials*, i. 125.

The Palace of Holyrood was accidentally set on fire, on the 13th of November, by some of the English soldiers quartered in it, and the whole of the ancient palace was destroyed, with the exception of the north-west towers finished by James v. The troops, thus deprived of a lodging, appear to have been quartered in some of the churches, and Nicoll mentions in his *Diary*, immediately after the narration of the fire that—

November 1650.—"These three Kirkes, viz., the College Kirk, Gray Freir Kirk, and that Kirk callit the Lady Yesteris Kirk, the hie Scule, and a great pairt of the College of Edinburgh wer all wasted, thair pulpites, daskis, loftes, saittes, windois, dures, lockes, bandis, and all uther thair decormentis, wer all dung doun to the ground by these Inglische sodgeris, and brint to ashes. . . . In all the pairtes of the land quhair the Inglische airmy come, the ministeris fled, and the Lords housses war closed and layd wast: so that the word of the Lord became verie precious to many of the land."[1]

Accommodation for the soldiers was at last found in the then unfinished Heriot's Hospital, and even when barracks were provided elsewhere, it was with difficulty that General Monk was persuaded to give up the Hospital for its original purpose.

The siege of the Castle was continued, and Cromwell mustered the colliers from the neighbouring pits, and ordered them to form a mine below the fortifications—the opening of which may still be seen in the freestone rock on the south side near the new Castle road. The commander came to terms with Cromwell, and saved the Castle by resigning into the General's hands.

The new garrison proceeded to clear away the obstructions that had afforded shelter to themselves in their approaches during the siege, and a diarist states the following regarding the old Wey-house:—

1650.—"The Inglische airmy considdering that the Wey-hous of Edinburgh was ane great impediment to the Schottis of the Castell, the samyn being biggit on the hie calsey, thairof, to remove

[1] Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 35.

that impediment, Generall Cromwell gaif ordouris for demolisching of the Wey-hous; and upon the last day of December 1650, the Englisches began the work, and tuik doun the stepill of it that day, and so continued till it was rased."[1]

August 1660.—"The weyhous of Edinburgh, quhilk wes demoleist by that traittour Cromwell, at his incumming to Edinburgh, eftir the fight of Dunbar, began now to be reedifyed in the end of August 1660: but far inferior to the former condition."[2]

The building, destroyed by Cromwell's soldiers and reconstructed after the Restoration, remained till 1822, when it was pulled down to widen the approach to the Castle, preparatory to the public entry of George IV.

The Edinburgh citizens were alarmed by the settlement of English families in Leith as well as by proposals for the fortification of the town, which seemed to threaten Edinburgh's right of superiority. The privileges of Edinburgh were only secured on the condition of their contributing £5000 towards the erection of a citadel at the port.

The following afford an insight into the administration of law at this time:—

10*th November* 1658.—"Thair wes ane boy callet Bynning brocht to the Trone of Edinburgh, and his lug boirit and naillit thairto: quhairat he stuid the space of four houris, and thaireftir stigmatized in his face with ane het yrne, berand the lettir F, for counterfying of wrytes."[3]

30*th January* 1650.—"Four fals witnessis wer broght to the Trone, quhairof twa had thair earis naillit to the Trone, with ane paper upone other of thair heidis, testifying thair offencis. Uther twa of thame wer bund to the Trone, with ane paper on ilk-ane of thair heidis, declairand their faltis: bot being les giltie than the uther twa, haid not thair eares naillit as the former."[4]

17*th February* 1650.—"Much falset and scheitting at this tyme wes daylie detectit by the Lordis of Sessioun: for the quhilk thair

[1] Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 40. [2] *Ibid.* p. 300. [3] *Ibid.* p. 220. [4] *Ibid.* p. 2.

wes daylie hanging, skurging, nailling of luggis, and binding of pepill to the Trone, and booring of tongues: so that it was ane fatall yeir for fals notaris and witnessis, as daylie experience did witnes."[1]

When the authority of the English Parliament was fully established, the leaders of the English army proceeded to arrange Church matters, and General Lambert applied to the Town Council "to appropriate to him the East Kirk (High Church of St. Giles), being the special Kirk (containing the royal pew) and best in the town, for his exercise at sermon." The request was conceded, and the pulpit of St. Giles was occupied by weill giftit captains, lieutenants, troopers, and English ministers; and Nicoll, referring to sermons preached by General Lambert, his captains, lieutenants, and troopers (1651), says, "it was thocht that these men war weill giftit, yit were not ordourlie callit, according to the discipline observit within this kingdome of Scotland."[2]

This seems to have continued more or less till 1656, when Nicoll refers to the imposition "for our saittis in the Kirk, quhilk we war forced to pay for, utherwayis to be frustrat of the word."[3]

He also in that year notes regarding December, and the division of the High Church, "the eistmest Kirk of St. Geill being devydit in twa, and the eistmest Kirk of the twa being first compleit and put in order eftir much delay, wes at lenth taght into, upone the penult Sonday of December 1656 be Mr. Robert Douglas and Mr. David Dick."[4]

The Edinburgh citizens regarded the independent preachers and the soldiers, who unbuckled their swords in the pulpit, as "weill giftit" but "not ordourlie callit," although there were crowded audiences, "many Scots expressing much affection at the doctrine in their usual ways of groans";[5] and Cromwell himself is said by Pinkerton to have preached in St. Giles' Churchyard, while David, the second Lord Cardross, preached at the Tron.[6]

[1] Nicoll's *Diary*, p. 4. [2] *Ibid.* p. 69. [3] *Ibid.* p. 187. [4] *Ibid.* p. 189.
[5] Carlyle's *Letters*, i. 361. [6] Pinkerton's *Scottish Gallery*: Lord Cardross.

Such facts reveal the effects of the battle of Dunbar on Edinburgh, but the very recent discovery of the seat rent lists of the Tron Kirk among the city papers for 1650–1653, have a sorrowful tale to tell regarding the congregation :

(1) With a few solitary exceptions, the preponderating majority of the seats are either described as "awin" or "not set," and the sum total loss in seat rents is for the year 1650, £706, 13s. 4d.

(2) The year 1651 is described as "not being collectit in respect that the toune wes desolat," and the Tron was evidently deserted of its ordinary seat-holders, whose names are given in the lists.

(3) The list from Whitsunday 1652 to Whitsunday 1653 manifests the "restand and awin" seat rents as reaching the sum total of £634, 6s. 8d.

The examination of the Tron lists[1] reveals the types of firm royalists and firm covenanters, who were loyal to the idea of monarchy, while resenting kingly usurpations and intrusions into spiritual spheres, where kings had no right to be. But they were not favourable to Cromwell's rule. An interesting feature of the accounts is, that beyond the inevitable damage of tear and wear, there are no indications of military damage having been done to the Tron Kirk, and while Nicoll expressly states[2] "that the College Kirk, the Grey-friars Kirk, Lady Yester's Kirk, the Hie Schule and a great part of the College were all wasted, thair pulpits, daskis, lofts, saittis, windois, dures, lockes, bandis, and all uther thair decormentis, wer all dung doun to the ground by these Inglische sodgeris and brint to ashes," he states nothing regarding the Tron, and the accounts here published give no indication of any desecration. No troops seem to have been quartered within it.

(1) The church was, however, practically deserted by its people.

(2) It was untouched by military vandalism—at least as far as can be drawn from a twofold silence of distinctively independent sources of information.

(3) So that we are led to think either that Mr. Lawrie, the

[1] See pp. 148–160. [2] P. 35.

minister of the first charge, who had been appointed at the time when Presbytery was Hildebrandic, who served the Tron during the Commonwealth and Protectorate, who at the Restoration became Episcopal and emerge as the Dean of Edinburgh, and was popularly known as the "nest egg," had succeeded in coming to terms with Cromwell and Monk and saved his new church at the Tron.

And (4) if this be so, as is most probable, then Pinkerton's statement that Cromwell and Lord Cardross preached at St. Giles and the Tron, may cover a wider range of energy, and the Tron like St. Giles may frequently have resounded to the voices of the Roundhead preachers, and Independents, who were considered by the people "weil giftit" but not "orderlie callit according to the discipline observit within this kingdome of Scotland."

NOTE.—Mr. Firth, in his *Ford Lectures on Cromwell's Army*, says (p. 338): "This question of soldiers preaching was one of the subjects of Cromwell's controversy with the Scottish clergy after the battle of Dunbar. Cromwell invited the ministers who had taken refuge in Edinburgh Castle to come down and preach freely in the churches of the city. They declined, complaining that men of mere civil place and employment should usurp the calling and employment of the ministry to the scandal of the Reformed Kirks, and particularly in Scotland.

"Are you troubled that Christ is preached?" replied Cromwell. "Be not envious though Eldad and Medad prophesy. Where do you find in the Scriptures a ground to warrant such an assertion that preaching is exclusively your function?" Ordination, in his view, was merely "an act of conveniency in respect of order."[1]

Cromwell held "that he that prays and preaches best will fight best," but by 17th July 1653 the Council of State passed an order which was equivalent to the ordination of five officers named. Probably this would affect the congregation in the Tron, and service may afterward have been conducted by the "regularly-called ministry."

[1] Carlyle's *Cromwell*, Letter 148.

Copy of Accounts of the Collector of Seat Rents in the Tron Kirk, 1650–1653.

The Comp. of the quholl charg of the zeirlly mells of the Dasks in the trone Church for anno 1650.

1. 15.	My Lord Yester[1]	£20	0	0
2.	My Lady Trabroun[2]	10	0	0
3.	My Lady Ridhous[3]	10	0	0
4.	Georg Foulls[4]	10	0	0

[1] *Lord Yester.*—John, eighth Lord Hay of Yester, was noted for his sagacity and attention to business, opposed the Act for regulating the apparel of churchmen, was one of the supplicants against the introduction of the service-book in 1637, and had the command of a regiment in the Scottish army in 1639. He was raised to the dignity of the Earl of Tweeddale in 1646, and died in 1654. He married Jane Seton, daughter of Alexander, first Earl of Dunfermline, high chancellor of Scotland.

[2] Lady Trabroun was wife of Sir John Hamilton of Trabroun, third son of the first Earl of Haddington and Margaret Foulis. She was the only child of Alexander Peebles of Middleton and Skirling.*

[3] Lady Redhouse was daughter of Sir Robert Richardson of Pencaitland, and married in 1634 Sir John Hamilton, who succeeded his father both in the estate of Redhouse and also in the lands of Strabrock, called Strabrock-Oliphant, in the county of Linlithgow. Sir John Hamilton served with distinction in the Scottish army which was levied for the service of Sweden, but met his death at Dunglas in 1640. Their son, Thomas, was served heir to his father in 1662, and appears also to have entered the army.†

[4] George Foulis was the son of George Foulis, goldsmith and "Monetarius Regis," who purchased Ravelston in 1620. His mother was the daughter of George Bannatyne, after whom the Bannatyne Club was named. George, who succeeded his father,

* *Memorials of the Earls of Haddington*, i. 186. † *Ibid.* i. 25.

5. Rel. James Prymrose[1]	£10	0	0
6. Rel. Thomas Weir	10	0	0
7. Rel. Allexr. Broun	10	0	0
8. James Cokburne	8	0	0
9. Allexr. Forest	8	0	0
10. Mr. Thomas M^{c}gill	8	0	0
11. Mr. Robt. Heart	8	0	0
12. Walter Pettersone	8	0	0
13.	6	13	4

was born in 1606, and married first, 1633, Christian Wardlaw, daughter of the Laird of Pitreavie, and second, 1636, Jean, daughter of Sir John Sinclair of Steviston. The eldest son, John (created a baronet in 1661), succeeded to Ravelston on the death of his father in 1679. In his account book, recently published for the Scottish History Society, one finds among many incidental references to the Tron Kirk, the following :—

Jan. 23, 1680. To the bedles wife in y^{e} tron church her hansell	01	8	0
Apr. 6, 1680. To the bedler in tron kirk for attending y^{n} my sone was baptized	04	04	8
Sept. 28, 1680. To y^{e} bedler in tron church for July and August contribu^{o}ne	0	12	0
July 9, 1681. To Jo^{n} Kinneir for my seat rent to whitsunday last in tron kirk. I ow nothing preceiding	08	00	0

Etc. etc.

[1] *Relict of James Prymrose.*—This was Catherine, daughter of Richard Lawson of Boghall, and mother of Sir Archibald Primrose, Lord Carrington. James Primrose, her husband, was clerk of the privy council of Scotland, and belonged to a family of officials specially connected with the Revenue Department during the seventeenth century. James Primrose practised as a "writer" or solicitor in Edinburgh, and in 1616 obtained a monopoly of the printing and selling of the book *God and the King*, the use of which was then made imperative in the schools and universities throughout Scotland. He died in 1641.

14.	£6	13	4
16. Relick of Wm. Dick	10	0	0
17. Commissarie Faulcuner [1]	10	0	0
18. Sir Hary Nisbit [2]	10	0	0
19. Mr. Hary Foulls	10	0	0
20. Robert Murray [3]	10	0	0
21. Lourenc Mersser	10	0	0
22. Sir John Fallcuner [4]	8	0	0
23. Mr. Allexr. Illis	8	0	0
24. Wm. Mudie	8	0	0
25.	8	0	0
26.	8	0	0
27.	6	13	4
28.	6	13	4
29. Mr. Robert Lowrie [5]	10	0	0

[1] Commissarie Falconer — one of the Commissaries of Edinburgh. He was the father of Sir David Falconer of Newton, who was appointed Lord President in 1682. His son studied law "*under* the eye of his father."

[2] Sir Hary Nisbit of Craigintinnie.

Nisbet Plates LIV.

Sir Patrick.

Alexander, grandson of the seatholder *excambed* Craigintinnie Dean, so that the present representative of the Dean Family is the descendant of this seatholder.*

[3] Robert Murray—probably the third son of Sir Archibald Murray of Blackbarony, and father of Robert Murray of Murrayshall.†

[4] Sir John Falconer was one of the Wardens of the Mint.

[5] Probably the minister of first charge. A later member was Sir Robert Lowrie, first Baronet of Maxwelton, who succeeded to the estate in childhood on the death of his father in 1646. He was created a baronet in 1685, and the following is from his own register: "At the pleasure of the Almighty I was married to my wife, Jean

* I am indebted for this information to Andrew Ross, Esq., Ross Herald.

† *Douglas Baronage*, p. 71.

30.	James Loch	£10	0	0
31.	Robert Trotter	10	0	0
32.	Rel. Mr. Hary Mald	10	0	0
33.	Mr. Allexr. Hammiltoune	10	0	0
34.	Androw Ramsay	10	0	0
35.	Rel. Robert Aichisone	10	0	0
36.	James Butter	8	0	0
37.	Wm. Leitch and Jonet Smyth	8	0	0
38.	James Baillze	8	0	0
39.	. . . . .	8	0	0
40.	. . . . .	6	13	4
41.	Jon. Aichisone	8	0	0
42.	My Lord Gennerall Lesly [1]	13	6	8

Riddell, upon the 27th of July 1674, in the Trone Kirk of Edinb. by Mr. Annane."

Anna, his daughter by the second marriage, here recorded—the "bonnie Annie Laurie" of the song—was married in the Tron Kirk to Alexander Ferguson of Craigdarroch, who represented the Dumfries Burghs from 1715 to 1722. She died in 1761 at the ripe age of seventy-nine. Regarding the original verses of the song, Robert Chambers says: "These two verses, which are in a style wonderfully tender and chaste for their age, were written by a Mr. Douglas of Fingland upon Anne, one of the four daughters of Sir Robert Laurie, first Baronet of Maxwelltown (in Dumfriesshire). . . . As Sir Robert was created a baronet in the year 1685, it is probable that the verses were composed about the end of the seventeenth or beginning of the eigthteenth century. It is painful to record that, notwithstanding the ardent and chivalrous affection displayed by Mr. Douglas in his poem, he did not obtain the heroine as a wife. She was married to Mr. Ferguson of Craigdarroch."

[1] David Leslie, fifth son of Patrick, commendator of Lindores, went into the service of Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden. Having eminently distinguished himself in Germany, he rose to the rank of colonel of horse. On the Civil War breaking out in Scotland he was appointed major-general to the army under the com-

43. Edvart Edger	£12	0	0
44. John Binnie	12	0	0
45. Mr. Allexr. Hay	12	0	0
46. Dauid Dowglas	12	0	0
47. James Mastertoune	10	0	0
48. Johne Liueingstoune	10	0	0
49. Mr. Allexr. Seatoune	10	0	0
50. Johne Androw	10	0	0
51. The Lady Aittoun	13	6	8

mand of the Earl of Leven, which marched into England in 1644. He greatly contributed to the defeat of the Royalists at Marston Moor in July of that year. He defeated Mussgrave and Fletcher in Cumberland; was recalled into Scotland to oppose Montrose, 1645, when the Parliament passed an Act constituting him lieutenant-general of the horse. He defeated Montrose at Philiphaugh, and Parliament voted him 50,000 marks out of the fine imposed on the Marquis of Douglas, 18th March 1646. He completely suppressed the Civil War in 1647, and was declared lieutenant-general of the forces, with a pension settled on him. He refused to serve in the engagement for the rescue of Charles I. in 1648, and when Montrose made his appearance in the North of Scotland to effect the restoration of Charles II. as an uncovenanted king, Leslie was sent against him with a force and succeeded in making him prisoner.

On the resignation of Alexander Leslie, first Earl of Leven, David Leslie became commander-in-chief, and led the Scottish army when Cromwell invaded Scotland. He was defeated at Dunbar, but declined to accept responsibility, on the ground that he "had not the absolute command." He assisted Charles II. at Worcester, and, after the defeat of the Royal forces, was intercepted in Yorkshire and committed to the Tower of London, where he was prisoner till 1660. He was fined 11,000*l.* by Cromwell's Act of Grace, but his fine was subsequently reduced to one-third of that sum. After the Restoration he was created Lord Newark, and received a pension. He died in 1682. [His daughter, Lady Gilmertoun, was also a member of the Tron.*]

* See p. 235.

52.	Rel. Androw Endsly	£12	0	0
53.	Dockter Cuninghame	12	0	0
54.	Rot. Foulls [1]	12	0	0
55.	Mr. Allexr. Foulls [2]	12	0	0
56.	Mr. Allexr. Clark	10	0	0
57.	John Hammiltoun	10	0	0
58.	Robert Robisone	10	0	0
59.	Walter Cuningham	10	0	0
60.–69.	My Lady Heartfell [3]	26	13	4
61.	Sir Johne Sincklair [4]	12	0	0
62.	Mr. Jon. Stewart	12	0	0
63.	Laird Carlathie	12	0	0
64.	Mr. Patrik Broune	12	0	0
65.	John Wallace and Fredrick Cay	10	0	0
66.	Allexr. Smyth	10	0	0
67.	James Boutcher	10	0	0

[1] Robert Foulis was the son of George Foulis of Ravelston, and Janet Bannatyne, his wife. He was a bailie of Edinburgh.

[2] Alexander Foulis was a younger son, and was the laird of Ratho.

[3] Lady Heartfell, daughter of the first Earl of Haddington, was born 5th April 1598. She married, on 28th September 1613, David Lord Carnegie, eldest son of David, first Earl of Southesk. Lord Carnegie died at Edinburgh on 25th of October 1633. After remaining a widow for fourteen years, she married secondly James, first Earl of Hartfell. She was his third wife, and their marriage took place on 31st January 1647, but by him she had no issue. By her first marriage, she was mother of Margaret Carnegie, who married Gavin, third Earl of Carnwath, and of Magdalene Carnegie, who married the baronet of Lochend, and was designated Lady Lochend.*

[4] Sir John Sinclair, second Baronet of Stevenston.

* *History of the Carnegies, Earls of Southesk*, i. 110–114; *Memorials of the Earls of Haddington*, i. 187.

68.	Jon. Fides and Tho. Dalling . . .	£10	0	0
70.	Rel. my Lord Ellibank[1]	12	0	0
71.	Mr. Allexr. Gutthrie	12	0	0
72.	Patrik Nicoll	12	0	0
73.	James Andersone	12	0	0
74.	William Chambers	10	0	0
75.	. . . . .	10	0	0
76.	. . . . .	10	0	0
77.	. . . . .	10	0	0
78.	. . . . .	12	0	0
79.	. . . . .	12	0	0
80.	. . . . .	10	0	0
81.	Louranc Scot	10	0	0
82.	. . . . .	10	0	0
83.	Sir Archbald Prymrose[2]	12	0	0

[1] *Relict of my Lord Ellibank.*—This lady was wife of Sir Gideon Murray of Elibank, who was knighted in 1605, sat as one of the Commissioners to the county of Selkirk in 1612, was admitted an ordinary lord in 1613, and was held by King James for a considerable period in high esteem, especially when his "salmon-like instinct" induced the latter to visit Scotland. It is said that on one occasion, Sir Gideon chancing, in the King's bedroom, to drop his chevron, the King, although both stiff and old, stooped down and gave him his glove, saying, "My predecessor, Queen Elizabeth, thought she did a favour to any man who was speaking with her, when she let her glove fall, that he might take it up and give it her; but, Sir, you may say a king lifted your glove." Yet King James' esteem changed, and this so affected Lord Ellibank that, after an illness of twenty days, he died on 28th June 1621.

[2] Sir Archibald Primrose, Lord Carrington, was a Senator of the College of Justice. He was the son of James, Clerk to the Privy Council, and to this office Sir Archibald succeeded in 1641. He joined Montrose after the victory of Kilsyth, was taken prisoner at Philiphaugh, and was said to have been saved through the mediation of Argyll. He was created a baronet in 1651, was made Lord

84.	Rot. Mastertoun	.	.	.	.	£12	0 0
85.	Mr. Wm. Collvein	.	.	.	.	12	0 0
86.	Lourenc Hendersone	.	.	.	.	12	0 0
87.	Lady Ridhous, Ellder[1]	.	.	.	.	12	0 0
88.	James Edmistoune	.	.	.	.	5	0 0
89.	Mr. Wm. Spenc	.	.	.	.	5	0 0
90.	Margarit Binnie	.	.	.	.	5	0 0
91.	Allexr. Beatoun	.	.	.	.	8	0 0
92.	Allexr. Cleghorne	.	.	.	.	8	0 0
93.	Thomas Pettersone	.	.	.	.	6	13 4
94.	Georg Schanks	.	.	.	.	6	0 0
95.	. . .	.	.	.	.	5	0 0
96.	Michell Gibsone	.	.	.	.	8	0 0
97.	Georg Mack	.	.	.	.	8	0 0
98.	Rot. Watsone	.	.	.	.	6	13 4
99.	James Neilsone	.	.	.	.	6	0 0
100.	. . .	.	.	.	.	5	0 0
101.	Rel. Allexr. Speir	.	.	.	.	8	0 0
102.	Rel. Jon. Liueingstoune	.	.	.	.	8	0 0

Clerk Register in 1660, Lord of Session in 1661, and framed the Recissory Act of Charles II. He was superseded by Lauderdale in the office of Register, and was made Justice-General in 1676.

[1] Lady Redhouse, Elder, was the mother of Sir John Hamilton, and wife of Sir Andrew Hamilton. Sir Andrew was appointed a Lord of Session in 1608, and took the title of Lord Redhouse. He was also made in 1610 a Privy Councillor. He married Jean, daughter and sole heiress of John Laing, Keeper of the Signet, and with her got the lands of Easter and Wester Spittal, called Reid-Spittal, and the manor place of Redhouse, in the county of Haddington, to which, at a later date, was added the Mains of Ballincrieff, in the same neighbourhood. These lands belonged to the College Kirk of Dunglass, and were, with the adjoining lands of Coates, disjoined in Sir Andrew's favour in 1621.*

* *Memorials of the Earls of Haddington*, i. 25.

103.	Hendrie Kinloch	£8	0	0
104.	James Illis	10	0	0
105.	Dockter Seatoune	10	0	0
106.	Archbald Tod and Dauid Wilkie	20	0	0
107.	James Rucheid and Mr. Allexr. Dick	20	0	0
108.	The Gennerall Quarter-master Stewart	13	6	8
109.	The Thessurer Deputs Loft	26	13	4

The whole charge extends to the sum of one thousand four scoir nyne pound.

The two following seat lists illustrate the effect of the military government on the Tron :—

The Compt. of the Dasks quhilk wes not set and is restand awin for this year 1650.

1. 15.	Awin be my Lord Yester	£20	0	0
4.	Awin be the Laird Hermistoune	10	0	0
5.	Awin be Rel. Mr. James Prymrose	10	0	0
7.	Awin be Rel. Allexr. Broune	10	0	0
11.	Awin be Mr. Rot. Hart	8	0	0
10.	Awin be Mr. Bellohese	8	0	0
13.	Dask wes not set	6	13	4
14.	Dask wes not set	6	13	4
18.	Awin be Sir Hary Nisbit	10	0	0
20.	Awin be Robert Murray	10	0	0
23.	Awin be Mr. Allexr. Illis	8	0	0
25.	Dask wes not set	8	0	0
26.	Dask wes not set	8	0	0
27.	Dask wes not set	6	13	4
28.	Dask wes not set	6	13	4
29.	Awin be Mr. Rot. Lowrie	10	0	0
31.	Awin be Rot. Trotter	10	0	0
33.	Awin be Mr. Allexr. Hammiltoun	10	0	0
34.	Awin be Androw Ramsay	10	0	0

36.	Awin be James Butter	£8	0	0
39.	Dask wes not set	8	0	0
40.	Dask wes not set	6	13	4
42.	Awin be gennerall Lesly	13	6	8
43.	Awin be Edvart edger	12	0	0
44.	Awin be Jon. Binnie	12	0	0
45.	Awin be Mr. Allexr. Hay	12	0	0
46.	Awin be Dauid Dowglas	12	0	0
47.	Awin be James Mastertoun	10	0	0
48.	Awin be Jon. Liueingstoun, Younger	10	0	0
49.	Awin be Mr. Allexr. Seaton	10	0	0
50.	Awin be Jon. Androw	10	0	0
54.	Awin be Rot. Foulls	12	0	0
59.	Awin be Walter Cuningham	10	0	0
60. 69.	Awin be my Lord Hertfell	26	13	4
64.	Awin be Mr. Patrik Broune	12	0	0
65.	Awin be Jon. Wallac and Fredrik Key	10	0	0
66.	Awin be Allexr. Smyth	10	0	0
68.	Awin be Jon. Fides and Tho. Dalling	10	0	0
71.	Awin be Mr. Allexr. Guthrie	12	0	0
74.	Awin be Wm. Chambers	10	0	0
75.	Dask wes not set	10	0	0
76.	Dask wes not set	10	0	0
77.	Dask wes not set	10	0	0
78.	Dask wes not set	12	0	0
79.	Dask wes not set	12	0	0
80.	Dask wes not set	10	0	0
82.	Dask wes not set	10	0	0
84.	Dask awin be Rot. Maistertoune	12	0	0
85.	Awin be Mr. Wm. Collvin	12	0	0
86.	Awin be Lawrence Hendersone	12	0	0
89.	Awin be Mr. Wm. Spence	5	0	0
90.	Awin be Margarit binnie	5	0	0

91.	Awin be Alexr. Beatoune	£8	0	0
92.	Awin be Allexr. Cleghorne . . .	8	0	0
93.	Awin be Tho. Pettersone	6	13	4
94.	Awin be Georg Schanks	6	0	0
95.	Awin being not set	5	0	0
96.	Awin be Michell Gibsone	8	0	0
97.	Awin be Georg Mack	8	0	0
98.	Awin be Rot. Watsone	6	13	4
99.	Awin be James Wilsone . . .	6	0	0
100.	Dask wes not set	5	0	0
101.	Awin be rel. Allexr. Speir . . .	8	0	0
103.	Awin be Hendrie Kinloch . . .	8	0	0
104.	Awin be James Illis	10	0	0
106.	Awin be Archbald Tod and Da. Wilkie . .	20	0	0
107.	Awin be Ja. Rucheid and Mr. Allexr. Dick .	20	0	0
108.	Awin be Wm. Stewart, Gen. Quartermaster .	13	6	8
109.	Awin be the Thesaurer Deput . . .	26	13	4

The sum of what is restand awin of the Mells of the dasks of the Church at the troune for this yeir of god 1650, £706, 13s. 4d.

There were no seat rents collected in 1651 "in respect the toune wes desolat."[1]

The Compt. of the Dasks quhilk wes not set and is awin for this yeir 1652 *to Whitsunday* 1653.

1. 15.	Awin be my Lord Yester	£20	0	0
6.	Dask wes not set	10	0	0
10.	Dask wes not set	8	0	0
11.	Dask wes not set	8	0	0
12.	Dask wes not set	8	0	0
13.	Dask wes not set	6	13	4
14.	Dask wes not set	6	13	4

[1] See p. 161.

18.	Awin be Sir Hary Nisbet	£10	0	0
22.	Dask wes not set	8	0	0
23.	Dask wes not set	8	0	0
24.	Dask wes not set	8	0	0
25.	Dask wes not set	8	0	0
26.	Dask wes not set	8	0	0
27.	Dask wes not set	6	13	4
28.	Dask wes not set	6	13	4
29.	Dask awin be Tho. Calldervood . . .	10	0	0
31.	Awin be Rot. Trotter	10	0	0
33.	Awin be Louranc Scot	10	0	0
34.	Dask wes not set	10	0	0
35.	Dask wes not set	10	0	0
36.	Dask wes not set	8	0	0
37.	Dask wes not set	8	0	0
38.	Dask wes not set	8	0	0
39.	Dask wes not set	8	0	0
40.	Dask wes not set	6	13	4
43.	Awin be Edvart Edger	12	0	0
44.	Awin be Jon. Binnie	12	0	0
48.	Awin be Wm. Purvise half a yeir . . .	5	0	0
49.	Dask wes not set	10	0	0
50.	Dask wes not set	10	0	0
54.	Dask wes awin be Rot. Foulls . . .	12	0	0
55.	Awin be Mr. Allexr. Foulls . . .	12	0	0
56.	Awin be Mr. Allexr. Clark . . .	10	0	0
58.	Dask wes not set	10	0	0
59.	Dask wes awin be Rot. Petterson . .	10	0	0
62.	Awin be Mr. James Wynrome . . .	12	0	0
64.	Dask wes not set	12	0	0
65.	Dask wes not set	10	0	0
66.	Awin be Allexr. Smyth	10	0	0
67.	Dask wes not set	10	0	0
68.	Dask wes not set	10	0	0

73.	Dask wes not set	£12	0	0
74.	Awin be Dauid Dunckin	10	0	0
75.	Dask wes not set	10	0	0
76.	Dask wes not set	10	0	0
77.	Dask wes not set	10	0	0
79.	Dask wes not set	12	0	0
80.	Dask wes not set	10	0	0
81.	Dask wes not set	10	0	0
82.	Dask wes not set	10	0	0
85.	Awin be Mr. Rot. Lowrie . . .	12	0	0
86.	Awin be Lourence Henderson . . .	12	0	0
87.	Awin be Dauid Dowglas	12	0	0
92.	Awin be Allexr. Gleghorne . . .	8	0	0
93.	Awin be Tho. Pettersone	6	13	4
94.	Dask wes not set	6	0	0
95.	Dask wes not set	5	0	0
98.	Awin be Georg Schanks	6	13	4
99.	Dask wes not set	6	0	0
100.	Dask wes not set	5	0	0
103.	Awin be Hendrie Kinloch . . .	8	0	0
104.	Awin be James Illis	10	0	0
106.	Awin be Dauid Wilkie	20	0	0
107.	Awin be Androw Ramsay . . .	10	0	0
109.	Awin be the Thesaurer Deput . . .	26	13	4

The quholl soome that is restand awin of the Mells of the saits in the Church at the trone for this yeir of god 1652 to Whitsunday 1653, £634, 6s. 8d.

The Compt. of the quholl discharg of my Depursments vpon the said Church at the trone.

1652, Jany. 17th—Item payit to Jon. Tuedie, Smyth, for his accompt	£6	1	4
Item for a new poulpit Cloath making and furnisching .	24	4	8

Augt. 11th—Item payit to Rot. Thomsone be order of the Counsall	£118	4	4
Septr. 8th—Payit to Rot. Alisone be order . .	48	0	0
Septr.—Item payit to Androw Hunter at order .	40	0	0
October 2nd—Item payit to Jon. Halliday, braisier, be order	66	13	4
October 12th—Item payit to Mr. Scharp, braissier, be order	48	0	0
Item to Androw Hunter for Locks and bands furnischit in 1650	7	4	2
1653, Febrewr 25th—Item payit to Jon. Tuidie, Smyth, be order	23	12	0
Item payit to Androw Hunter for Lock and bands to the Thesaurer's Sait and heinging the door .	3	6	0
Apryll 15th—Item payit to Jon. Scot be order. . .	66	13	4
Item payit to him for ane other precept . .	40	0	0
Jully 19th—Item to Rot. Thomsone conform to his Compt and order	33	5	0
Summa of the First Zeir's chairge for anno 1650 extends as per the preceding accompt to . .	1089	0	0
Summa of the second Zeir's chairge for anno 1652 extends to the lyk soume off . . .	1089	0	0

More the Compter chairges him selff with the money receaued be him from James Elleis preceiding Thesaurer which wes dew for ballance of his accompt the soume of sex pound eight schillings Scotts money.

Summa Totalis of the whole chairge for anno 1650 and 1652 (*The zeir* 1651 *not being collectit In respect the toune wes desolat*) amounts to the soume off Two Thousand on hundrethe Fourscoir foure pound eight Shillings ij^{m} j^{c} Lxxxiiij^{lib} viij^{s}.

Summa Totalis of the whole dischairge extends to the soume off one Thousand eight hundrethe Thriescoir nine pound sevintein shillings.

Summa Totalis of the chairge extends to the sum of Tuo thousand one hundrethe Fourscoir foure pound viij^{d} = ij^{m} j^{c} Lxxxiij^{lib} viij^{s}.

So the Chairge exceids the Dischairge in the soume of Thrie hundreth eightein pound ellewin schillings which soume he is to pay in to Lourence Hendersone succeiding thesaurer. Subscryvit att Edinburgh the 16 October, 1654, GEORGE SUTTIE, Dean of Gild, JAMES ELEIS, AL. WILKIE, PATRIK THOMSONE, JOHNE THOMSONE.

NOTE.—Obviously there is a discrepancy in the "Discharge" side of the account, which in the auditor's docquet is stated to amount to £1869, 17s., whereas the sums enumerated under this heading only come to £525, 4s. 2d.

CHAPTER VII

PRINCE CHARLES IN EDINBURGH, AND THE JACOBITE LECTURER IN THE TRON KIRK

CHAPTER VII

PRINCE CHARLES IN EDINBURGH, AND THE JACOBITE LECTURER IN THE TRON KIRK

THE first *complete* list of the Tron seatholders in the City Records belongs to the year 1745—that of 1650 in the original manuscript having been found solitarily situated in a bundle of other papers. Generally the sum total of yearly rents is only given, and without names. As two of the Tron clergy come conspicuously before us in the year 1745, it may not be out of place here to recall the prominent historical facts.

On the report of the landing of Prince Charles, the city-guard was increased, and a portion of the royal troops was brought to the neighbourhood of the city. The town walls were prepared for defence, and additional ditches were thrown up. On the approach of the Prince's forces, which had crossed the Forth above Stirling, the King's troops, along with the city-guard, were posted at Corstorphine and Coltbridge, and a volunteer force was raised to aid in repelling the attack. But citizens and soldiers were either lukewarm in the cause of the House of Hanover, or were afraid at the rumours of the Highland host. The whole gathering of hastily mustered and ill-appointed militia fled before the wild and victorious clansmen, and conveyed such a panic to the people that, when they assembled in St. Giles, and debated whether they should stand on their defence or not, only three or four voted for the affirmative. But while the citizens were thus discussing, the Nether Bow Port was unwarily opened to let a coach pass out, and a party

of Highlanders, who had reached it undiscovered, rushed in and took possession of the guard-house, a little above the Tron Kirk.

Charles soon followed, and, while the Highland army encamped at the royal park, near Duddingston, the young Chevalier took up his abode at Holyrood, and heralds were ordered to publish at the Market Cross the commission of regency which the Prince had received from his father. This was done with all the ceremonies connected with royal proclamations. Multitudes of the inhabitants flocked to the neighbouring camp, and the Palace was crowded by prominent citizens, who hastened to testify their fidelity to the exiled family. They were received by the Prince with gracefulness and affability, but he was not prevented thereby from requiring the inhabitants of Edinburgh to deliver up their arms at the Palace, and the city to furnish a variety of stores for the use of the army, under pain of military execution in event of failure. The supplies were furnished, and the city was gratified with the promise of payment as soon as the troubles were past. The Castle was still held by General Guest, an adherent of the Government, who displayed the royal banner and fired some cannon, when the Highlanders appeared in the city, as a warning not to approach the Castle.

The Highland army, thus provisioned, marched to Preston, where they defeated the Royal forces, led by Sir John Cope. The panic-stricken dragoons fled from the field and halted not until they reached Linlithgow, while their baggage, artillery, and military chest fell into the hands of Prince Charles, who returned to Edinburgh and Holyrood in triumph. Notwithstanding their irregular character, his Highland army behaved well and held themselves under restraint, and "such was the simplicity of the poor Highlanders, even in rapine, that some of them are reported to have presented their pieces at passengers, and on being asked what they wanted, they replied a penny, with which they went away perfectly satisfied."

The Prince intimated, on his return to Edinburgh, that the

ministers should have full liberty to continue their duties on the following day, which was Sunday, and the only requirement made was that in the prayers for the Royal Family, no names should be specified. Not one of the regular clergy appeared in the city pulpits on Sunday, and it was found that they had all deserted the town. During the remainder of his stay, the city clergy continued absent from Edinburgh.[1] Sir Daniel Wilson says, "Only one city minister, named Hog, availed himself of this permission, and lectured in the fore-noon in the Tron Church."[2] But Mr. Hog was not a city minister: he was the morning lecturer in the Tron, and was appointed to that office by the Town Council, while the City Records show that he had been in straits with his creditors.[3] The two ministers of the Tron at this time were the Rev. Dr. George Wishart in the first charge, and the Rev. Principal Wishart of the University in the second charge. But the Rev. Neil M'Vicar of St. Cuthbert's, "a suburban clergyman having some countenance from the guns of the Castle,"[4] and being of the true Covenanting type, was not to be intimidated by the near neighbourhood of the Jacobite forces. He sent word to the commander of the Castle of his intention to conduct the usual services, and went to his pulpit at the appointed hour. The church was filled with a great congregation, among whom he recognised many Jacobites, as well as some Highland soldiers, attracted by the report of his intentions, and the reputation he bore for courageous character. He prayed as usual for King George by name, and then added—"and as for this young man who has come among us seeking an earthly crown, we beseech Thee, that he may obtain what is far better, a heavenly one!" When this was reported to Prince Charles, he is said to have laughed, and expressed himself highly pleased at the courage and charity of the minister.[5]

The list of the Tron seatholders here published for the year

[1] Chambers's *History of the Rebellion of* 1745, p. 141.
[2] *Memorials*, i. 147.
[3] See pp. 249, 251, 256.
[4] Chambers's *History*, p. 142.
[5] *History of the West Kirk*, p. 119.

1745[1] will enable us vividly to recall Sunday, 15th September, in that memorable year, when a false alarm reached the city that the insurgents were advanced within eight miles, and it was proposed that Hamilton's and Gardiner's regiments of dragoons should make a stand at Corstorphine, supported by a body of infantry composed of the volunteers, Edinburgh regiment, and town-guard.

"Public worship had commenced that day," says Chambers, "at the usual hour of ten, and the ministers were all preaching with swords by their sides, when the fire-bell was rung as a signal of approaching danger, and the churches were instantly deserted by their congregations. The people found the volunteers ranked up in the Lawnmarket, ready to march out of town, and immediately after Hamilton's dragoons rode up the street, on their way from Leith to Corstorphine. These heroes clashed their swords against each other as they rode along, and displayed in their language the highest symptoms of courage. The volunteers, put into heart by the formidable appearance of these squadrons, uttered a hearty huzza, and the people threw up their hats in the air. But an end was soon put to this affectation of bravery. The mothers and sisters of the volunteers began to take alarm at seeing them march out to battle, and with tears, cries, and tender embraces, implored them not to hazard their precious lives. Even their male relations saw fit to advise them against so dangerous a measure, which, they said, staked their valuable persons against a worthless rabble. Many then began to demur, saying that they had engaged to defend the town, but not to march out of it. At this juncture Captain ex-Provost Drummond, anxious to stop the spreading murmurs, led off his company down the West Bow towards the West Port, thinking that the rest would follow. His astonishment was great when, on reaching the Port, and looking round, he found that, so far from other companies having followed, his own had melted away in the course of its brief march, and he had only a few of his immediate friends behind him. Some had gone back

[1] See pp. 171–182.

to the Lawnmarket; others had stepped down *closes*, as lanes are called in Edinburgh, and thus vanished. A city wag afterwards compared their march to the course of the Rhine, which at one place is a majestic river flowing through fertile fields, but being continually drawn off by little canals, at last becomes a small rivulet, and almost ceases to be distinguishable before reaching the ocean. Drummond immediately sent back a lieutenant to know what had detained the regiment; and this gentlemen, out of all who remained in the Lawnmarket, found one hundred and forty-one who still retained some sense of either shame or courage, and professed to be willing to march out of town. The lieutenant brought them down to the West Port, where, being added to the town-guard and the half-fledged subscription-regiment, they made up a body of three hundred and sixty-three men, besides officers.

"Even this insignificant band was destined to be further reduced before making a movement against the approaching danger. As they were standing within the West Port, before setting out, Dr. Wishart, a clergyman of the city [second charge in Tron] and Principal of the College, came with several other clergymen, and conjured the volunteers to remain within the walls, and reserve themselves for the defence of the city. The words of the reverend man appealed directly to the sentiments of the persons addressed; only a few affected a courage which could listen to no proposals of peace. Happily, their manhood was saved the shame of a direct and point-blank retreat. Drummond having sent a message to the provost, bearing, that unless he gave his final permission for their march, they should not proceed, they were gratified with an answer, in which the provost congratulated them upon their resolution not to march; on which Drummond withdrew, with the air of a man who is balked by malice in a design for the public service; and all the rest of the volunteers dispersed, except a few, chiefly hot-headed college youths, who resolved to continue in arms till the end of the war. Meanwhile the Town-guard and Edinburgh

Regiment, in number one hundred and eighty men, marched out, by order of the provost, to support the dragoons at Corstorphine; being the whole forces which the capital of Scotland found it possible on this occasion to present against the descendant of its ancient Kings."[1]

A panic had taken possession of the citizens, and at a meeting held next day in the New Church aisle, on the question of "Defend or not defend the town" being put, by far the greater part of those present exclaimed in favour of the latter alternative, and all who attempted to urge the contrary measure were put down.

Prince Charles entered the city, as has been already stated, and shortly after the battle of Preston left Edinburgh on his route to England at the head of five thousand men. He was followed, on his return northward, by the Duke of Cumberland, who occupied the same rooms in the Palace that had been used by the Prince. The final overthrow of the Highland army at Culloden brought the heroic but untimely episode to an end; the standards of the insurgent were burnt at the Market Cross; then followed fines, imprisonment, confiscation, and a general persecution of "Papists, Jacobites, Episcopals and disaffected persons." The Lord Provost, Archibald Stewart, who was regarded with peculiar jealousy, on account of the city having fallen into the hands of the Highland army without any attempt at defence, was subjected to a long trial, but was acquitted by a unanimous verdict of the jury, which was regarded as a triumph by the Jacobite party.

The Tron Seat List, which follows, gives the names of many of the contemporaneous citizens of the High Street in 1745, and James, fifth Lord Balmerino, was among the members. He died in 1746—the year when his brother, sixth Lord Balmerino, suffered on Towerhill, after being taken prisoner at Culloden. He would worship with his brother in the Tron, most likely in the famous year of the '45, as well as prior to it.

[1] *History of the Rebellion*, pp. 88-90.

RENTAL OF THE TRON CHURCH AS POSSESSED AT MARTINMAS 1745.

1.	James Hunter, Wright	£8	0	0
2.	William Waterston	7	0	0
3.	Mr. John Murdoch	7	0	0
4. 16.	Laird of Pancaitland[1]	24	0	0
5.	Sir John Baird[2]	18	0	0
6.	Mr. Craigie of Kilgirston[3]	16	0	0
7.	Lady Elphinston (now Mr. Hery Barckey per Act of Council)[4]	16	0	0
8.	Doctor Andrew Plummer ½	6	0	0
8.	Doctor John Rutherfoord ½[5]	6	0	0

[1] Laird of Pencaitland—the son of Robert Hamilton of Pencaitland, who succeeded as an Ordinary Lord in 1712 and was at the same time nominated to his place as a Lord of Justiciary. The laird succeeded his father in 1729, and was the grandson of Robert Hamilton of Presmennan.

[2] Sir John Baird was the son of Sir John Baird of Newbyth, who was created a knight baronet by Charles II., admitted an ordinary lord under the title of Lord Newbyth, nominated one of the Justice-Deputes in 1667, and entered heartily into the Revolution. He died at Edinburgh in 1698.

[3] Mr. Craigie of Kilgraston was an advocate, and father of Robert Craigie, who was elevated to the bench and took his seat as Lord Craigie in 1811.

[4] Lady Elphinston, who had evidently occupied the pew now given by an Act of Council to Mr. Barclay, was the wife of Charles, ninth Lord Elphinstone (who died in 1757), and was the third daughter of Sir William Primrose of Carrington, Baronet.

[5] Dr. John Rutherford was the grandfather of Sir Walter Scott, and his grandson thus refers to him in his autobiography:

"In (April 1758) my father married Anne Rutherford, eldest daughter of Dr. John Rutherford, professor of medicine in the University of Edinburgh. He was one of these pupils of Boerhaave,

9.	Mr. William Alexander	£12	0	0
10. 11.	David Reid, Writer	12	0	0
12.	Charles Ross, Merchant	6	0	0
13.	Charles Craiggie	6	0	0
14.	William M^c^cachnie	5	0	0
15.	William Dove	5	0	0

to whom the school of medicine in our northern metropolis owes its rise, and a man distinguished for professional talent, for lively wit, and for literary acquirements. Dr. Rutherford was twice married. His first wife, of whom my mother is the sole surviving child, was a daughter of Sir John Swinton of Swinton, a family which produced many distinguished warriors during the Middle Ages, and which, for antiquity and honourable alliances, may rank with any in Britain. My grandfather's second wife was Miss Mackay, by whom he had a second family, of whom are now (1808) alive, Dr. Daniel Rutherford, professor of botany in the University of Edinburgh, and Misses Janet and Christian Rutherford, amiable and accomplished women." *

Dr. Russell, in his *Reminiscences of Yarrow*, says: "It was from his mother that Sir Walter Scott inherited his talents. She had mental powers of a high order, and as the daughter of an eminently learned physician, she had received the best education of the day, and was noted for her various accomplishments. By no means comely, at least after the bloom of youth, she was still studious of her personal appearance; and when she sat for her portrait to Raeburn, her instruction to the artist was, 'Mak' me bonnie'" (p. 202). Like John Ruskin's (see p. 343), Sir Walter's ancestry was (on his mother's side) from a Scottish manse. His maternal great-grandfather was the Rev. Dr. John Rutherford, minister of Yarrow, whose son, Dr. John Rutherford, our Tron seatholder, was one of the first to bring the medical school of Edinburgh into European fame. He composed the inscription on the mural tablet in Yarrow Church, erected to his father's memory. It is

* Lockhart's *Life*, p. 3.

17.	John Walker, Merchant ½ . . .	£5 0 0
18.	George Home, Baxter ½	5 0 0
19.	Robert Smith, Surgeon	12 0 0
20.		
21.	Mrs. M^cgill	15 0 0
22.		
23.	Alexander Innes, Elder	15 0 0
24.	Mr. George Buchan	18 0 0

written in Latin, and may thus be translated: "To the memory of the Rev. Dr. John Rutherford, minister of Yarrow, most upright and most vigilant. . . . Thou wast a faithful pastor, a beloved brother, a sure friend, a gentle master, a genial husband and father. Having laid aside the office of an upright and pure life, thou hast yielded to the Father. Thy years passed happily, O thrice blessed! Thy fame is above the high hills and the green banks of Yarrow, thy soul above the stars." For eight years, from 1804 to 1812, Sir Walter Scott lived at Ashiestiel in Yarrow Parish, and he says "that he delighted to worship at the shrine of his ancestors." The fact that his great-grandfather was minister of Yarrow; that his grandfather, Professor Rutherford, had been brought up in the valley and was familiarly known as the "Yarrow Doctor," gave Scott a deep and special interest in the district. He loved Yarrow, and sang—

> "By Yarrow's stream still let me stray,
> Though none should guide my feeble way:
> Still feel the breeze down Ettrick break,
> Although it chill my withered cheek."

Sir Walter breathes the spirit of Christianity throughout all his writings, and the world owes a debt of infinite gratitude for the moral purity and elevation which pervade every line he wrote. We lovingly think of this inheritance as coming from a Scottish manse,[1] through the celebrated Professor Rutherford, who was a member of the Tron, and through his daughter (Sir Walter's mother), who both attended our church and was educated in a school within our parish.

[1] Cf. p. 343.

25.	Bailie Robert Dundas	£16	0	0
35.	James Reoch and James Johnston	6	0	0
36.	George Gordon, Writer	12	0	0
37.	John Scoular	3	0	0
38.	James Scot, Wigmaker	5	0	0
39.	Mrs. Edgar	5	0	0
40.	Archibald M^{c}lauchlan, now Capt. Walter Hamilton ½	6	0	0
41.	Patrick Ross, Merchant	6	0	0
42.	Thomas Hay, Baxter	8	0	0
43.	Lady Lethem	9	0	0
44.	David Miller, Writing Master	3	0	0
45.	Alexander Miller, Painter	5	0	0
46.	Mrs. Rate	5	0	0
47.	William Wight, Baxter	7	0	0
48.	Thomas Norie	7	0	0
49.	Mr. Robert Wallace, W.S.	8	10	0
50.	Mr. George Balfour	8	10	0
51.	Taken away.			
52.	Walter Thomson	5	0	0
53.	James Wemyss	6	0	0
54.	Mrs. Young	6	0	0
55.	Mrs. Janet Aiken ½	8	0	0
	Doctor Alexander Martin ½	8	0	0
56. 57.	Thomas Allan, Dean of Guild	18	0	0
58.	Mrs. Elliot	3	0	0
59.	Alexander Crawfoord, Baxter	6	0	0
60.	John Moubray, Wright	6	0	0
61.	Mrs. Mitchell, Dyer (John Tyrie, Writer)	8	0	0
62. 63.	Mr. Alexander Belshes	16	0	0
64.	Hugh Hamilton	8	0	0
65.	Taken away.			

66.	Provost John Couts ½[1]	£12	0	0
67.	Major Thomas Cochran ½	12	0	0
68.	Was taken away.			
	Andrew Syme, Couper ½	5	0	0
69.	John Hunter ½	5	0	0
70.	Mr. Richard Lothian £6 and Mrs. Russell £6	12	0	0
	Mr. Thomas Trotter ½	6	0	0
71.	Bailie John Jack ½	6	0	0
72.	Mr. Robert Dundas, Solicitor	17	0	0
73.				
74.	Lord Monziee[2]	24	0	0
75.				
79.	Mrs. Pringle	12	0	0

New Seats in Place of those Numbers wanting as above.

1.	Mr. James Gillon, Advocate	£13	0	0
2.	Mrs. Betty Rochead	13	0	0
3.	Mr. George Laudder	13	0	0
4.	Mrs. Chalmers	13	0	0
5.	Mr. George Arbuthnot	13	0	0
6.	Mrs. Wood and Mrs. Miln	12	0	0
7.	Mr. Ebenezer M^{c}culloch	12	0	0
8.	Mr. Andrew Chalmers	12	0	0

[1] John Coutts (1699–1751) was from 1742 to 1744 Lord Provost of Edinburgh, and was a great encourager of the fine arts. His sons, James and Thomas, were the founders of the Banking House of Coutts & Co. His portrait, painted by Allan Ramsay, is in the possession of the Baroness Burdett-Coutts.

[2] *Lord Monzie.*—Patrick Campbell was admitted advocate in 1722, and was appointed one of the faculty of advocates to revise the decisions collected by Alexander Bruce, advocate. He was nominated one of the Judges of the Court of Session, and took his seat as Lord Monzie in 1727. He died in 1751.

9.	Mrs. M^{c}rabie	£12	0	0
10.	John Baillie, W.S.	12	0	0
11.	Captaine Maitland[1]	12	0	0
12.	Mrs. Robertson	10	0	0
13.	Mrs. Abercrombie	10	0	0
14.	Thomas Craig	10	0	0
15. 16.	William Keir, Baxter	17	0	0
17.	Mrs. Marshall and George Smart . .	6	0	0
18.	Mr. George Wishart, Minister . . .	16	0	0
19.	Elder's Seat.			
20.	Lord Minto[2]	22	0	0
21.	Lord Tinwald[3]	18	0	0

[1] Captain Maitland was evidently one of the military sons of Charles, sixth Earl of Lauderdale.

[2] Lord Minto was the son of Sir Gilbert Elliot, Bart., of Minto, one of the Senators of the College of Justice. He was elevated to the bench in 1726, and on the 13th of September 1733 he was nominated a Lord of Justiciary in place of Sir William Calderwood of Polton, and succeeded Charles Erskine of Tinwald as Justice-Clerk in 1763, retaining both offices till his death, which took place at Minto on 16th April 1766, aged seventy-three.

[3] *Lord Tinwald.*—Charles Erskine of Tinwald was the third son of Sir Charles Erskine of Alva and of Christian, daughter of Sir James Dundas of Arniston. He was Parliamentary representative of Dumfries in 1722, and was nominated Solicitor-General in 1725. He represented Dumfries again in 1727 and 1734. He was constituted Lord Advocate in 1737, and in 1741 was returned to Parliament for Kirkwall. On the death of Sir James Mackenzie of Royston, he was elevated to the bench, and took his seat as Lord Tinwald in 1744, at the same time succeeding him as a Lord of Justiciary. In 1748 he was appointed Lord Justice-Clerk. "In all these departments he discharged his duty with honour and integrity. As a lawyer, he was esteemed an able civilian, he spoke with ease and gracefulness, and in a dialect which was purer than that of most

22.	Mrs. Plummer	£14	0	0
23.	John Kennedy, Surgeon	14	0	0
24. 25.	Sir John Inglis[1]	28	0	0
26.	Alexander Peters, Wright	14	0	0
27.	John Wardrop, Writer	12	0	0
28.	Baillie Robert Lindsay	12	0	0
29.	Yaxly Davidson	12	0	0
30.	Gavin Wauch, Baxter	10	0	0
31.	Francis Kemptie	8	0	0
32. 33.	Mr. John Russell, W.S.	8	0	0

GALLERIES

98.	Archibald Chessalls, Wright	6	0	0
99. 100. 101.	Barron Clerk. Free[2]	36	0	0
102.	Lady Pittreeihie[3]	20	0	0

---

of his contemporaries. As a judge, his demeanour was grave and decorous, and accompanied with a gentleness and suavity of manners that were extremely ingratiating." He died at Edinburgh in 1763.

[1] Sir John Inglis of Cramond had a liberal education both at home and abroad. He married Anne, daughter of Adam Cockburn of Ormiston, one of the Senators of the College of Justice and Lord Justice-Clerk. Being a man of honour and merit, he was appointed Postmaster-General for Scotland in 1717, in which office he continued till 1725, and was again installed into the same post in 1742.

[2] Baron Clerk—Sir John Clerk of Penicuick, Baronet.*

[3] *Lady Pitrichie.*—Lady Jean Maitland of Pitrichie, died 22nd October 1746, when her son Charles Maitland, advocate, was retoured as her heir-male.†

* See *Memoirs—Scottish History Society.*

† *Indexes*, 1740–1749, p. 22.

103.	Mr. James Geddes, Advocat (now Mr. Wm. Grant)	£20	0	0
104.	Mr. John Hay of Lawfield	20	0	0
105.	Lord Milton[1]	20	0	0
106.	Mr. Andrew M^{c}dougal, Advocat. . . .	10	0	0
	Mr. John M^{c}farland	10	0	0

[1] *Lord Milton.*—Andrew Fletcher of Milton was the son of Robert Fletcher of Salton, and was born in 1692. He was admitted an advocate in 1717, and in 1724 succeeded Sir John Lauder of Fountainhall as an Ordinary Lord, taking his seat by the title of Lord Milton. In 1726 he was appointed a Lord Justiciary, and the following year was named by patent one of the commissioners for improving the fisheries and manufactories of Scotland. On the resignation of Erskine of Grange, Lord Milton was constituted Justice-Clerk in 1735, and in 1746 was appointed principal Keeper of the Signet. He resigned his office as Justice-Clerk in 1748, retaining his appointments as principal Keeper of the Signet and Judge of the Court of Session till his death, which took place in 1766. During the Rebellion of 1745, Lord Milton was much admired for the mild and judicious manner with which he conducted himself as Justice-Clerk in that unhappy period. "He abstained as much as possible from severe measures, and adopted means either to conceal or recall such of the rebels as had been rather misled from the paths of loyalty, than actuated by premeditated designs to overturn the Government. Indeed, many informations, which he suspected to have been sent by over-officious and malignant persons, were found in his repositories, after his death, unopened. He was the friend and coadjutor of Archibald, Duke of Argyll, and from the knowledge his lordship possessed of the laws, customs, and temper of Scotland, proved a useful auxiliary to that statesman, and a good friend to his country, in pointing out such individuals as he judged to be best qualified to fill vacancies in the church, and to hold the important office of Sheriff; and at the same time used his best endeavours to promote the welfare in Scotland, in improving its trade, manufacture, and agriculture." *

* Brunton and Haig's *Senators of the College of Justice*, p. 499.

107. Lord Ballmerino[1] or the Countess of North Eske[2]	£20	0	0
108. James Smith, Writer	12	0	0
109. Baillie Andrew Purdie	8	0	0
110. Baillie Gavin Hamilton and Dr. White . .	20	0	0
111. Lady Atherston	18	0	0
111. William Wilson, Writer	10	0	0
112. Lord Strichen[3]	20	0	0

[1] *Lord Balmerino.*—James, fifth Lord Balmerino and fourth Lord Coupar, studied law, and being called to the bar in 1703, had a large practice. In 1714 he was called to the bench, and took the title of Lord Coupar. He succeeded to the title of Lord Balmerino at the death of his father in 1736, and continued to occupy his place as a Lord of Session, in which he gave such satisfaction that there were sometimes forty cases on his Roll, when there was not one-fourth of that number before some other judges. A contemporary wrote of him: "He was an elegant-mannered, pleasant man. When he spoke, which was seldom, it was very much to the purpose, and well attended to." He died in 1746 without issue. His wife was Lady Elizabeth Carnegie, daughter of David, fourth Earl of Northesk, who survived till 21st September 1767.

[2] The Countess of Northesk, Lady Balmerino's mother, was Lady Margaret Wemyss, second daughter of Margaret, Countess of Wemyss, sister of David, third Earl of Wemyss. She died at Edinburgh in 1763, and was a seatholder in the Tron. James, fifth Lord Balmerino, leaving no issue, was succeeded by Arthur, sixth and last Lord Balmerino, who had the misfortune to be taken prisoner at the battle of Culloden by the Duke of Cumberland's army, and suffered on Towerhill on 18th August 1746 for being concerned in the Rebellion of 1745.

[3] *Lord Strichen.*—Alexander Fraser, son of Thomas Fraser of Strichen and Emilia Stuart, second daughter of James, Lord Down, passed advocate in 1722, and was afterwards one of the commissaries of Edinburgh. He succeeded Sir Andrew Hume as a judge in the Court of Session, taking his seat by the title of Lord Strichen in 1730, and on the promotion of Sir Andrew Fletcher of Milton to

113.	Lord Dun[1]	£20	0	0
114.	Patrick Blair, Wig Maker . . .	10	0	0
115.	John Carnagie	10	0	0
116.	Lady Bavelaw[2]	20	0	0
117.	Earle of Lauderdale.[3]			
118.				
119.				
120.				
121.	Marquis of Lothian[4]	18	0	0

---

the office of Justice-Clerk, he was nominated a Lord of Justiciary in 1735. He was appointed General of the Mint in 1764, and resigned his seat as a Justiciary Judge, but retained his office in the Court of Session till his death. He died at Strichen House, Aberdeenshire, in 1775, having sat nearly fifty years on the bench.

[1] *Lord Dun.*—David Erskine of Dun was born in 1670. He came to the Scottish bar in 1698, and soon attained eminence as an advocate. He represented Forfarshire at the Convention of Estates in 1689, and in the Parliaments of 1690, 1691, 1693, 1695, and 1696, and opposed the Union. He succeeded the Earl of Lauderdale as an Ordinary Lord, and took his seat in 1710. In 1714 he was appointed as a Lord of Justiciary. He died in 1758, in the eighty-fifth year of his age. He published, in 1754, a work entitled *Lord Dun's Friendly and Familiar Advices*, and he was characterised as a venerable old man, of very great experience, and greatly distinguished for piety.

[2] Lady Bavelaw was widow of William Scott of Bavelaw advocate.

[3] James, seventh Earl of Lauderdale, succeeded his father, the sixth Earl, in 1744. After remaining twenty-five years in the army, he resigned his commission in consequence of partiality in the promotion of a junior officer. He died at Hatton, 17th August 1789, in the seventy-second year of his age.

[4] William, third Marquis of Lothian, succeeded his father, the second Marquis, in 1722. He represented King George II. as Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of

122. Lady Troop	£16	0	0
123. Marquis of Tweedale[1]	20	0	0
124. Francis Scott and James Runciman[2] . .	12	0	0

Scotland from 1732 to 1738, both inclusive, and was in 1739 appointed Lord Clerk Register of Scotland. He died in 1767.

[1] The fourth Marquis of Tweeddale, who succeeded his father in 1715. He died in 1762. He was the last who held the office of extraordinary Lord of Session, as that order expired with him, in pursuance of an Act of Parliament, providing that when the places of the four extraordinary Lords of Session should become vacant, no nomination should be made to supply such vacancy.

[2] James Runciman was probably the father of Alexander Runciman, the famous Scottish painter, who was born at Edinburgh in 1736. He was apprenticed to a coach-painter, under whom he acquired some knowledge of colours. He studied in Foulis' Academy at Glasgow, and is said to have been the pupil of an eminent landscape painter, under whom he made progress. About 1766 he managed, with his brother, to travel to Rome, where he studied for five years, and painted his large picture "Nausica at Play with her Maidens," and sent home in 1767 a picture which he exhibited that year with the Free Society of Artists. On his return, he was an exhibitor at the Royal Academy. In 1773 he settled in Edinburgh, and was fortunate in being appointed the manager to the Trustees' Academy, with a salary of £120 a year, which gave him the means of applying himself to ambitious works. He decorated the great hall of Penicuick* with a series of subjects from Ossian, and painted several easel pictures, "The Prodigal Son," "Cymon and Iphigenia," and "Sigismunda weeping over the heart of Tancred," which is reputed his best work. Runciman was also employed to paint a ceiling over the altar in the church in the Cowgate, Edinburgh, the subject being the "Ascension." This is pronounced to have less merit than the "Ossian" paintings. He lived for a time in the Tron Parish, and on 21st October 1785 dropped down dead in the street near his later lodgings in West

* See p. 177. Baron Clark and he sat near each other in the Tron.

125. John Douglas, Armour	£12	0 0
126. John Yetts, Wright	6	0 0

Nicholson Street. His untimely death prevented him realising the promise of his later years.

John Runciman (1744–1768), his younger brother, accompanied him to Rome, but died at Naples before returning to England. His talents as a painter are pronounced superior to those of his brother, and the qualities of his art more refined and delicate.

CHAPTER VIII

MINISTERS OF THE "GREAT KIRK" IN ST. GILES PRIOR TO THE REMOVAL OF THE CONGREGATION IN 1647 TO THE TRON; MINISTERS OF THE TRON FROM 1647

CHAPTER VIII

MINISTERS OF THE "GREAT KIRK" IN ST. GILES PRIOR TO THE REMOVAL OF THE CONGREGATION IN 1647 TO THE TRON; MINISTERS OF THE TRON FROM 1647

IT is difficult to give the list of ministers after the Scottish Reformation according to parishes, as the distribution of their service seems at first to have been arranged among themselves. The Minutes of Council very seldom show that the ministers were appointed to any particular church, but merely "to be ane ordinare minister within this burgh," "to be twa ministers of this burgh," "new elected ministers of this burgh," and "unto the ministry of this burgh." But sometimes they give more specific information as: March 31, 1592, "The Council ordains £200 to be paid to Mr. Jhone Davidson, minister, for his travellis tayne in teicheing in the Eist Kirk"; Nov. 21, 1593, "The Council grants (Nov. 21, 1593) . . . to Mr. George Robesoun and Mr. Peter Hewatt, Ministers and Teachers in the Eister Kirk upoune the Sondayes in the morning"; Dec. 14, 1625, "The Council appoints Mr. William Forbes and Mr. John Maxwell to be ministers and pastors to the South-East Parish"; April 26, 1630, "Demission of office by Mr. John Maxwell, one of the ordinary pastors of the South-East Parish, now chosen Bishop of Ross." With such and similar facts as guides, and with the additional statements from Row, Spottiswoode, Birrell, and other contemporaneous writers, one

can judge of the accuracy of the lists given by Scott in his *Fasti.* Finding that the list of "St. Giles, the Old or Great Church," in every case bears them out, I give it here. The Tron congregation in its earlier home in St. Giles was served by the following ministers, but it must be borne in mind that prior to a date not later than 1598 (April 18) they also served the other three City Quarters as well :—

1560–1572. John Knox.

1572–1584. James Lawson, thus characterised, "chieff for learning, holiness, power in doctrine, and all guid vertues amangis the haill ministeris."

1587. Robert Bruce was minister of the Great Kirk till 1596, and from 1598 to 1631 officiated in the New or Little Kirk. He was the second son of Sir Alexander Bruce of Airth, and Scott says : "His firm and energetic mind, inflexible independence and stainless integrity indicated his superior character. To the spirit of a baron, sprung from the greatest warriors in the kingdom, he added that of a faithful servant of Christ, and if his language and manners seem now irreconcileable with the respect due to his sovereign, yet they show a manliness of spirit and principle not uncommon at that period. In person, he was tall and dignified, with a majestic countenance and venerable appearance in the pulpit, and a knowledge of the Scriptures beyond most of the age."[1] His sermons upon the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper are still inspiring reading. In a letter he says, "As touching my vocation to the ministry, I was first called to my grace, before I obeyed my calling to the ministry. He made me first a Christian, before He made me a minister."

The colleagues or those to whom no parochial district had been allowed or has been discovered—the pre-Reformation Collegiate system having in some measure, in *reality* at least, been retained—are as follow :—

[1] *Fasti*, i. 18.

ROBERT BRUCE OF KINNAIRD,
Minister at Edinburgh, 1587.

1563. John Craig.
1573. John Durie.
1574. Walter Balcanqual.
1568. John Cairns (reader, but afterwards ordained).
1584. James Hamilton.
1585. William Watson.
1584. John Edmistoun.
1586. John Cowper.
1589. John Davidson.
1589. James Balfour.
1607. Patrick Galloway.
1611. Thomas Sydserff.
1614. Andrew Ramsay.
1614. William Struthers.
1621. John Guthrie.
1622. William Forbes, D.D.

South-East Parish, Great or Old Kirk (*resumed*).

1598. William Watson.

1626. William Forbes was translated from Aberdeen, but craved to be transported "on account of weakness of body." He was retranslated to Edinburgh in 1633, and was consecrated Bishop of Edinburgh, but died in 1634. Sydserff, the Dean, in his funeral sermon called him "the bright star of Israel," and Scott says of him,[1] "he inculcated peace and union among Christians so strongly, that he was considered too favourable to the errors of the Church of Rome." It was said, by one who knew him well, that he never saw him but he thought his heart was in heaven, and he was never alone with him but he felt within himself a commentary on the words of the apostle, "Did not our heart burn within us while he talked with us, and opened the Scriptures?"

1626. John Maxwell was translated from the second charge, and demitted on being promoted to the Bishopric of Ross in 1633.

1634. David Mitchell, A.M., was translated from the second

[1] *Fasti*, i. 391.

charge, and was deposed 3rd December 1638 for Arminianism and for declining the Assembly. He survived the Restoration, and in 1661 had an allowance from Parliament from vacant stipends on account of his sufferings.

Collegiate—First Charge.

1598. John Hall was translated in 1610 from the Great to the Little Kirk.

1626. John Maxwell was translated from Trinity College, and was admitted the same year to the first charge.

1628. David Mitchell was translated to first charge about 1634.

1635. David Fletcher.

Ministers of the South-East Parish from 1641—in which year the Council "appoints their Church to be that Church which is presently in building at the Tron, and for the interim till the same is complete, they ordain the middle church of St. Giles to be their Church, and appoints to be their minister, Mr. William Colvin."[1]

Colvein or Colvin was the son of Robert Colvin of Cleish, and studied at the University of St. Andrews, where he graduated in 1617. He was elected second minister of Trinity College in 1635, succeeded to the second charge of Old Greyfriars in 1638, and was translated to the Tron Kirk in January 1639. In the same year he was sent by the Covenanters to the King of France to solicit aid against the despotic proceedings of Charles I., but in travelling through England had his papers seized, and was incarcerated till the victory of Newburn gave him his release in 1640. In December 1641 he was removed to the Tron Kirk. He was suspended by the Assembly of 1648, and deposed in 1649 "for favouring the unlawful engagement." He was then for some time minister of the English Church at Utrecht. In 1652 he was elected Principal of Edinburgh University, but having been taken prisoner to the Castle for praying for Charles II., was not permitted by the government of

[1] Minute, December 24, 1641 (see p. 205).

Cromwell to take possession of the office, which was declared vacant on 17th January 1653. He received, however, a year's stipend, in consideration of his having demitted his charge in Holland. In 1654 he was reponed by the Assembly, and became minister of Perth. On Leighton's resignation in 1662 he was again appointed Principal of the University. He was the author of *Ethica Christiana*, and of sermons on the "Righteous Branch." He died in 1675.

1648. Robert Laurie, M.A., was translated from Trinity College Church, and was appointed by the Town Council to take charge of the Tron during Mr. Colvin's suspension. When the Presbytery in 1661 petitioned Parliament for a meeting of the General Assembly for settling Church Government, he was one of those appointed to wait on Middleton, the Lord High Commissioner. He was translated to the High Church, Edinburgh, in 1662, and being the only minister of the city who conformed to Episcopacy, was popularly called "the Nest Egg." In 1672 he was made Bishop of Brechin.

1663. John Patersone was translated from Ellon, and admitted on 4th January 1663. In 1672 he was translated to the New Church at St. Giles, and was made Dean of Edinburgh. In 1674 he was made Bishop of Galloway.[1]

1672. William Annand, M.A., was translated from the Tolbooth Church, and appointed to the Tron in 1672. He was translated to the High or New Church in 1675, and was the author of several volumes. "There was scarcely a more innocent man in Britain."

1675. James Lundie, M.A., was translated from the Tolbooth Church, and collated 29th May 1675. He was translated to Dalkeith in 1680.

1681. Robert Bruce was translated from Old Deer, and instituted 25th May 1681. Refusing to take the Test, he demitted the same year.

1683. George Trotter was translated from the second charge, and elected by the Town Council, 16th March. The Town Council in 1685 gave an order against him for traducing the magistrates,

[1] See p. 218.

and shortly afterwards ordered the Procurator-Fiscal to draw another for scandalising the ministers, or rather alleging the magistrates drank the ministers' stipends, for which he was suspended by Bishop Paterson. He died in 1687.

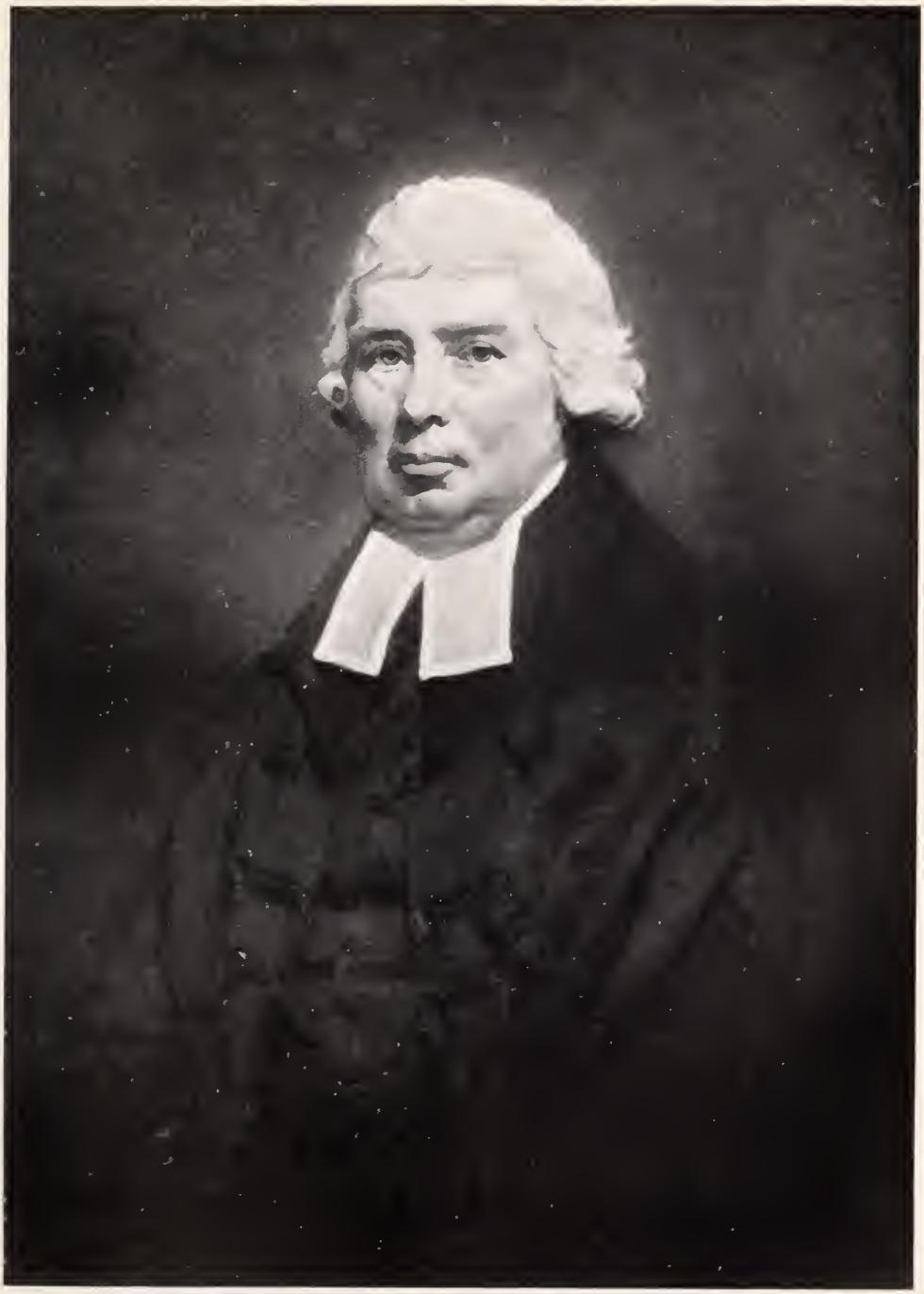
1687. Alexander Malcolm was translated from Greyfriars, and was unanimously elected by the Council on 11th August. He was deprived by the Town Council in 1689, and was deposed by the Commission of Assembly in 1691 "for declining their authority." Bishop Burnet advised him to return from England and submit to the Presbyterian Establishment.

1689. William Erskine was translated from Carsphairn, and died in 1692.

1695. William Crichton was translated from Falkirk, and was elected twice Moderator of the General Assembly.

1707. William Wishart was translated from South Leith, and entered his duties in the Tron in 1707. He was elected five times Moderator of the General Assembly; he was appointed Principal of the University of Edinburgh, held this office in conjunction with his charge, and died in 1729, aged sixty-nine, and in the forty-second year of his ministry. He is described as "a good, kind, grave, honest and pious man; a sweet, serious and affectionate preacher, whose life and conversation being of a piece with his preaching, made almost all who knew him personal friends." He published two volumes of sermons.

1730. George Wishart, M.A., was translated from St. Cuthbert's, and was admitted to the Tron on 23rd July 1730. He was appointed by the Commission of Assembly in 1743 to go with Mr. Wallace to London to make application to Parliament for getting an Act to provide for the widows and children of ministers. They succeeded in this, and were "thanked for their faithfulness and diligence" by the Assembly of 1744. He was elected Principal Clerk to the Assembly in 1746, and Moderator in 1748. He was appointed one of his Majesty's Chaplains in Ordinary and Dean of the Chapel Royal in 1765. He died in 1785 in the eighty-third year of



REV. DR. ANDREW HUNTER OF BARJARG,
Minister of the Tron Parish, 1786-1809.

his age and fifty-ninth of his ministry. "Few preachers equalled him in neatness of composition, easiness of manner, or fluency in delivery; while the meekness of his dispositions, joined to an earnest desire ever to benefit others, with his consistent and amiable life, rendered him greatly respected and honoured."

1786. Andrew Hunter, D.D., of Barjarg, was translated from New Greyfriars, and inducted minister of the Tron, 2nd April 1786, holding in conjunction with the first charge the Professorship of Divinity.

He was the eldest son of Andrew Hunter, Esq., of Park, a descendant from a branch of the family of Hunter of Hunterstone in Ayrshire. His mother, Grisell Maxwell, was a daughter of General Maxwell of Cardoness, in the stewartry of Kirkcudbright —a gentleman alike distinguished for his bravery and piety. The General was a zealous supporter of the Protestant interest, and at the Revolution in 1688 was one of those who accompanied the Prince of Orange from Holland.

He was Moderator of the General Assembly in 1792, and in the year following "declined being appointed one of his Majesty's chaplains in ordinary." "He was distinguished for the mildness of his temper, of which by the grace of God he had acquired the entire command, and which was scarcely ever known to have been roused into passion, either in public or domestic life."[1]

He married in 1779 Marion Shaw, eldest daughter of William, sixth Lord Napier, by whom he had four children. His eldest son, a member of the Faculty of Advocates (who afterwards took the name of Arundel, in compliance with the wishes of his wife, who was a relative of Lord Arundel of Wardour), succeeded to the estate of Barjarg, Dumfriesshire. His youngest son, the Rev. John Hunter, became one of the ministers in the Tron, and discharged the duties of the second charge from 1832 to 1866, in conjunction with Dr. Brunton, Professor of Hebrew in the University, and minister of the first charge, and also with Dr. Maxwell Nicholson.

[1] *Biographical Sketches to Kay's Portraits*, ii. 301.

In Kay's Portraits, along with other representations, he is one of "The Five Alls."[1] The figure "I pray for all" represents the Rev. Dr. Andrew Hunter, "whose benevolence might well be said to extend to all; and the uncombed head, in the desk beneath, is intended to indicate Mr. John Campbell, precentor."

The "I plead for all" is the Hon. Harry Erskine; the "I maintain all" is James Rocheid, Esq., of Inverleith; the "I fight for all" was Quartermaster Taylor, one of the famous defenders of Gibraltar; and the "I take all" is a "caricature of a potentate, commonly called the Prince of the Air," who in former times was supposed to have considerable dealings in Scotland, judging from the innumerable trials for witchcraft with which the records of the Court of Justiciary are disgraced.

1809. Alexander Brunton, D.D., was translated from New Greyfriars, and admitted, 23rd November 1809, to the first charge of the Tron, in succession to Dr. Andrew Hunter. He was elected Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of Edinburgh in 1813, and held this office in conjunction with his charge. He had D.D. conferred upon him by the University of Edinburgh in 1814, was elected Moderator of the General Assembly in 1823, and was appointed Convener of the Assembly's Committee on Indian Missions, on 26th May 1834, the arduous duties of which he zealously discharged for thirteen years, "with the highest satisfaction, till declining years obliged him to retire from public life." He died near Cupar-Angus, 9th February 1854, in the eighty-second year of his age and the fifty-seventh of his ministry. "As a preacher he was attractive, both in style and gracefulness of delivery, while he was attentive to the young, nor was he less distinguished by his assiduity and attention in the management of George Heriot's Hospital." He married in 1798 Mary, only daughter of Colonel Thomas Balfour, of Elwick, authoress of *Self-Control*, *Discipline*, and *Emmeline*. She died 19th December 1818, aged forty. Dr. Brunton published, in 1814, *Extracts from the Books of the Old*

[1] Vol. ii. 46.

I PRAY FOR ALL
I PLEAD FOR ALL
I MAINTAIN ALL
I FIGHT FOR ALL
I TAKE ALL
THE FIVE ALL'S
I. KAY DEL. SCULP.

Testament, with Sketches of Hebrew and Chaldee Grammar—a third edition of this appeared in 1831; *Sermons and Lectures*, in 1831; *Outlines of Persian Grammar*, in 1832; "A Memoir of Mrs. Brunton" (in *Emmeline*); *Sermon preached on the Death of Dr. Inglis*, in 1834; and *Forms for Public Worship in the Church of Scotland*, in 1848. The dedication of his wife's memoir contains the pathetic ascription:

"Vale!
Heu quanto minus est
Cum reliquis versari
Quam tui
Meminisse!"

1854. The Rev. Maxwell Nicholson, D.D., received a unanimous call to the first charge of the Tron Parish, and was translated from the Parish of Pencaitland, where he had been minister since 1843. He was inducted to the Tron on 24th August 1854, and was translated to the Parish of St. Stephen's, Edinburgh, in 1867, having served the Tron Parish for twelve years as colleague minister with Dr. John Hunter, and at the death of the latter on 21st June 1866, for one year as sole minister, the colleagueship of the charge having ceased at Dr. Hunter's death. The relationship between them was beautiful in an extreme degree, and the Kirk-Session Minutes describe them both "as attached friends and colleagues." By their united effort, Dr. Nicholson inaugurated the Tron Industrial School for the Training of Girls at 14 Niddrie Street—an institution which proved itself to be of great value in the parish by training girls for service. The mission premises are still held by the session "in Trust for a School for the Industrial Training of Girls, for Mission premises connected with the Tron Kirk Parish, and for any other purpose having in view the Social, Moral, and Religious Good of the Inhabitants of said Parish." The mission work carried on in the parish each week is thus a continuation of the work which Dr. Nicholson inaugurated, and loyalty to his ideal must ever place work among girls to the very front—a form of service which presents a clamant

and imperious call in the Tron Parish. His name was a household word throughout the parish, and his memory is still a holy influence. At his death on 30th December 1874, the following tribute was paid to him:—"During his life of fifty-six years, Dr. Nicholson, besides attending to the duties of his ministry with the most praiseworthy zeal and industry, took a prominent part in all the charitable institutions and societies in the districts where he resided. Foremost among these, he was most energetic in furthering the prosperity of the Destitute Sick Society, of which he was the secretary. For a long period he officiated as a director in the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, and was recommended for re-election at the last meeting of the directors. He was also convener of the joint-committee which has charge of the general management of all the schemes of the Established Church, and was present at their last meeting, held less than a fortnight ago. In the Royal Bounty Committee, for maintaining religious instruction in the Highlands and Islands, he took a warm interest. The pastoral duties of his parish prevented Dr. Nicholson from devoting a large amount of his time and attention to literary pursuits; but during his life he published many small books on religious work. The production which has become most associated with his name is his work entitled *Rest in Jesus*, which is at present in its fifth edition. Last year he also published a volume of family prayers, which have been much admired. As a preacher, Dr. Nicholson was popular, earnest, and eloquent. He possessed great descriptive powers, and frequently used them with good effect. In the Presbytery meetings, although he did not mingle much in the discussions, he showed himself to be possessed of admirable business habits. Naturally of a shy and retiring disposition, he appeared silent and reserved in company, but his intimate friends knew well and appreciated his kindly manner, genial nature, and keen sense of humour. As indicative of his kindness to all, we may mention that he was a universal favourite with children, and was cordially welcomed in every circle of which the children of his friends formed

a part." The *Scotsman* (31st December 1874) gives the following statement regarding Dr. Nicholson's devotion to rescue and redemptive work in the Tron Parish:—"While in the Tron Church he took a personal interest in all endeavours to reclaim the more depraved classes of his parish, and, after his ordinary Sabbath duties, was in the habit of holding meetings with persons of the class referred to."

Ministers of the Second Charge in the Tron Kirk

1650. John Stirling, M.A., was translated from Barra at the invitation of the Town Council on 9th January, and was elected by the Commission of Assembly on 15th February. He was of the remonstrant or protesting party in the Church, and was translated to the newly formed parish of Lady Yester's in 1655, a parish which was disjoined from the Tron or South-East Parish of Edinburgh.

1663. James Lundie, A.M., was elected in 1663, and was translated to the High Church in 1665.

1665. Robert Mortimer was licensed by George, Bishop of Edinburgh, in 1664, and was ordained and collated in 1665. He demitted in 1676.

1677. John Farquhar was elected by the Town Council, and translated to the Old Church in 1682.

1682. George Trotter was translated from Edrom, and was again translated to the first charge in 1683.

1683. John Strachan held the Professorship of Divinity in conjunction with the Tron. He was deprived by the Estates of the Kingdom for not obeying the proclamation and praying for King William and Queen Mary.

1692. George Meldrum was translated from Kilwinning, and was elected by the Town Council and General Sessions in 1691, being admitted the following year. He was elected Moderator in 1698, and Professor of Divinity in 1701, an office which he was unwilling to accept till the Presbytery unanimously relieved him

from catechising the people, visiting the sick, visiting families, and preaching on week days. He was elected Moderator a second time in 1703. After several sittings and during discussion on an overture, the Lord High Commissioner (the Earl of Seafield) abruptly dissolved this Assembly. Though embarrassed, the Moderator concluded with prayer, and the collision at this time led to an understanding between the Church and the Government regarding the mode of dissolving the Assemblies in future. He died in 1709, and was a man of piety and worth, as well as of learning. He published, among other works, one entitled *Toleration Defended.*

1710. John Stedman was translated from Dalmeny, and was esteemed "a man of great worth" and an "excellent preacher."

1715. Matthew Wood was translated from Greyfriars, and died in 1741.

1745. William Wishart, D.D., was translated from New Greyfriars, and held the Principalship of the University in conjunction with the Tron. He died in 1753. "To his abilities and worth, less justice has been done than they merited, as few excelled him in depth of thought, original genius, or the art of gaining attention by new reflections, illustrations, and arrangement. Though esteemed and good, he was not a popular preacher, and while holding the doctrines of Calvin, yet he disdained not to associate with Dr. Benson, Dr. Chandler, and Dr. Foster. He supported the measures of the popular party in the Church, and dissented, 15th May 1751, from a resolution of the General Assembly censuring the Presbytery of Linlithgow for not proceeding in the settlement of Torphichen, as appointed by the former Assembly a day memorable in the history of the Church as producing the maiden speech of his distinguished successor in the Principality."[1] Besides publishing volumes of discourses, he edited, in 1739, Henry Scougal's *Life of God in the Soul of Man*, chiefly for the use of students and for the furtherance of piety. Scougal was a student of Archbishop Leighton, and was a frequent preacher in the Tron Kirk.

[1] *Fasti*, i. 59.

1754. John Jardine was translated from Lady Yester's Church, and appointed one of His Majesty's Chaplains in Ordinary in 1759; one of the Deans of the Chapel Royal in 1761; and Dean of the Order of the Thistle in 1763. While attending the General Assembly, and listening to a debate on "the causes and growth of schism," he dropped down and was carried home dead, 30th May 1766. He was "the coeval and intimate companion of Home, the author of *Douglas*, of infinite pleasantry as well as great talents, whose conversation possessed the charm of easy, natural attractive humour. His playful vivacity often amused itself in a sort of mock contest with the infantile simplicity of Hume, the historian and philosopher, who himself enjoyed the discovery of the joke, which had excited the laugh of his companions around him." It is said that Hume, when going down the stair after visiting Dr. Jardine one night, refused a light, saying, "he was well acquainted with the stair." He faltered, however, and the Doctor exclaimed, "Ah! David, I knew you wanted supernatural light!"

1767. John Drysdale, D.D., was translated from Lady Yester's. He was elected Moderator in 1773, conjunct Principal Clerk in 1778, and a second time Moderator in 1784. He died in 1788. He was distinguished for energy and talent, assisted Principal Robertson in the business of the Church, and was noted both by his capacity for business and conciliatory manners, which disarmed hostility. It may even be said that he succeeded Principal Robertson on his retirement in 1780. In 1793 there was published a volume of his sermons, with an account of his life by his son-in-law, Professor Dalzel, of the University of Edinburgh (two vols.).

1789. William Simpson was translated from Lady Yester's on 2nd August 1789. He had D.D. conferred on him by the University of Edinburgh in 1810, and died in 1831.

1832. John Hunter, son of Professor Andrew Hunter, a former minister of the Tron first charge, was translated from Swinton, and presented as assistant and successor in the Tron by the Town Council in 1829; a minority of the patrons challenged the right to appoint a

successor, but it was found lawful both by the Court of Session and House of Lords in 1832, and he was admitted by the Presbytery on the 11th of October that year. He had D.D. conferred by the University of Edinburgh in 1847, and declined being nominated Moderator of Assembly. He was universally esteemed in Edinburgh, and every one appreciated his noble Christian bearing, scholarship, and devotion. On the first Sunday after the great Secession of 1843, a venerable parishioner of Dr. Hunter's time tells me, that neither he nor his colleague, Dr. Brunton, lost one member, but gained one family, who joined that very day—the family being that of my informant. The departure of so many cherished and noble ministers from the Church of Scotland affected the good man to tears: it rent his heart, even as it did so many other hearts that loved the Church. Dr. Hunter died on 21st July 1866, and in the *Scotsman* of the following day there was a notice of this worthy old Scottish gentleman and minister, from which we take the following:—"Few men discharged the duties of a parish minister with greater faithfulness than Dr. Hunter. He was regular and frequent in his visitation of the parish, unwearied in his efforts for the relief of human misery, most attentive to the sick and afflicted, and ever ready to relieve the wants of the poor. In disposition he was mild and conciliatory, and took no active part, though always well informed and keenly interested, in Church controversies. Although numbering many of his personal friends in the 'Nonintrusion' or Free Church party, with whom he maintained the most intimate relations till the day of his death, he did not sympathise with their views, and condemned, though without bitterness, their secession from the Church. We believe that on more than one occasion it was proposed to confer on him the highest honour the Church can bestow—the Moderatorship of the General Assembly—but characteristic modesty induced him to decline the prominent position which others not more worthy envied. He has passed away at the ripe age of seventy-seven, full of years and honours, enjoying the respect of all classes and

REV. DR. JOHN HUNTER,
Minister of the Tron Parish, 1832–1866.

REV. DR. MAXWELL NICHOLSON,
Minister of the Tron Parish, 1854–1867.

denominations, and the warm affection of those who were more intimately connected with him. In a word, he was a perfect type of what a Christian gentleman ought to be. Perhaps no man living knew more of the social history of Edinburgh during his own long lifetime, and he was full of anecdote derived from his own long experience, and through tradition from his father. It is to be regretted that one who might have written most interesting memorials of his time, has departed leaving scarcely a scrap of writing—certainly no collection of his anecdotes or descriptions, which now live only in the memory of his friends. . . . He was one of the three ministers whose charges were fixed to cease at their death by the Annuity Tax Abolition Act of 1860."

Single Charge

From about the Reformation period to 1866, the South-East, afterwards Tron Parish, was served by two ordained ministers, but on the death of the Rev. Dr. John Hunter it became a single charge, one minister doing the whole duty. The following have held the single charge :—

1. Maxwell Nicholson, D.D. (*q.v.*),[1] 1866–1867 (translated to St. Stephen's, Edinburgh).

2. James MacGregor, D.D., 1868–1873. Dr. MacGregor was minister of the High Church, Paisley, 1855–1862 ; Monimail, Fife, 1862–1864 ; Tron Church, Glasgow, 1864–1868 ; Tron Church, Edinburgh, 1868–1873 ; St. Cuthbert's, Edinburgh, since 1873. He was Moderator of the Church of Scotland in 1891, is one of the most eloquent of preachers, and an ornament of the Church. He has been a Royal Chaplain since 1886.

3. John Barclay, M.A., 1874–1875. Mr. Barclay was a brilliant preacher and a Dante scholar. He was translated after a year's ministry in the Tron to the West Parish, Greenock, where he died after an honoured ministry.

P. 193.

4. W. C. Jamieson, B.A., 1876–1881. Mr. Jamieson was assistant to the Rev. Dr. Robertson of New Greyfriars. He was ordained to Invertiel in 1868, translated to St. Matthew's, Glasgow, in 1869, and to the Tron, Edinburgh, in 1876. He died on 30th January 1881, after a faithful ministry of five years. The congregation erected two beautiful windows to his memory in the church, and a posthumous volume, entitled *The Lord's Prayer*, was published by his friends. It is full of a deep spiritual utterance. He died at the early age of forty, much lamented.

5. John Methven Robertson, D.D., 1881–1885. Mr. Robertson was translated from Stow to the Tron, and was inducted to St. Ninian's Parish, near Stirling, in 1885. He is an accomplished scholar, and a great linguist.

6. David Morrison, M.A., 1885, was translated from Dunblane to the Tron, and retired as senior minister in 1897. During his ministry, the church, as it at present stands, was reconstructed under the supervision of Sir Rowand Anderson in 1888.

7. Archibald Fleming, M.A., 1897–1902. Mr. Fleming was translated from Newton, Mid-Lothian, and did noble work in the church and parish. He was translated to St. Columba's, London, and during his incumbency in the Tron was editor of *Life and Work*, the Church of Scotland magazine. He received the degree of D.D. from Edinburgh University in 1906. Two of his assistants in the Tron were the Rev. D. D. Fraser, M.A., of Sprouston, and the Rev. James Black, M.A., of Balfron.

8. The present minister was translated from Abernethy, Perthshire, in July 1902. During his ministry he has been much helped by his assistants—(*a*) the Rev. William d'Esterre MacLeod, B.D., now minister of St. Margaret's Parish, Arbroath; (*b*) the Rev. Hamilton Dunnett, B.D., now minister of Inveravon, Morayshire; and (*c*) the Rev. J. W.-M. Williamson, M.A.

CHAPTER IX

THE CHRONICLE OF THE TRON KIRK FROM 1637, CONTAINING NAMES OF PROMINENT SEATHOLDERS

CHAPTER IX

THE CHRONICLE OF THE TRON KIRK FROM 1637, CONTAINING NAMES OF PROMINENT SEATHOLDERS

THE following extracts from the City Records afford a reliable history of the Tron, and reflect much of the ecclesiastical history of the Scottish capital. They indicate also the growth of the city, and the manner in which the Town Council of Edinburgh have discharged their duty as patrons of the city churches. Best of all, they bring before us an accurate knowledge of the inhabitants of Old Edinburgh, while the special grants of seats give the names of many distinguished nobles and citizens.[1]

John Mylne, Architect for Churches at Tron and Castlehill.

27th June 1637.—Johnne Mylne, Massoun, appointed Master of Works for building the two Churches and David Makcall and David Jonklin, Treasurers to the said Works, ordained to make a contract with him.

Site for Church.

19th January 1638.—David Makcall, Treasurer to the South-east parish Church, to borrow and pay to Mr. William Scott, Doctor of Medicine, the sum of £1000 Scots as the price of the said Dr. Scott's "land lyund at the Trone contigue to Alexander Clerks grit ludging for building thervpone ane pairt of the Church appointed for the Southeist parochin of this burgh."

Mortification.

18th December 1639.—Mortifications by David Makcall, Mer-

[1] See pp. 213–243, with which compare pp. 301–319.

chant, Burgess of Edinburgh of (1) 2000 merks Scots to help in building and repairing the Kirk in the Southeist quarter.

The following relates to the Tron Sunday Morning Lectureship:[1]—

Lectureship.

(2) 3500 merks Scots for behoof of "ane sufficient qualified minister or preitcher to mak prayers and preitching every Sunday in the morning in the Southeist Kirk that is building at Nudreis Wynd heid quhilk preitching and prayers sall be doone in the said Kirk everie Sunday in the morning *conforme to the Trew Religioun estaiblischit, presentlie profest within this kingdome without any alteratioun, additioun or diminishing therfra in anie sort but onlie to be doone as it is now vsit without adding of any unnecessar ceremonie thairto that was laitlie lyik to be brocht in the Kirk and no otherwayes* Lyikas I ordayne the preiching and prayers to begin everie Sunday at sex houres in the morning and end ane quarter eftir sevin therefter or utherwayes as the Proveist and baillies thinks meitt And I mak and constitut the Proveist and baillies of the said Burgh present and to cum patrones for presenting of the said Minister to the said kirk with consent of my aires and successors in all tyme cuming."

Collection of Voluntary Subscriptions.

26*th August* 1640.—The Council ordains the voluntary subscriptions of the inhabitants, for the building of Churches, to be collected, and as the Southeast parish is still destitute of a peculiar and proper church the whole amount is to be applied for the building of the Church already begun at the Tron and which is to be used by the South-East parish.

Two new parishes were created in 1641—(*a*) that of the Tolbooth, and (*b*) the part of the South-East which afterwards became Lady Yester's. These two were added to the earlier four of 1598.

South-East Parish New Boundaries.

24*th December* 1641.—The Council divides the Town into six parishes and "for the fowrt parochin designes that boundis within

[1] On account of the early hour for this service, the Tron Morning Lecturer was known even till the middle of last century as "the first minister of Edinburgh!"

the Towne fra the Netherbow wpon the south syde of the hie streit to Pebles Wynd inclusive with that bounds from the Cowgait port upon the North Syde of the Cowgait to the fute of the said wynd callit Pebles Wynd as also that bounds fra the said Cowgait port upon the south syd of the Cowgait to that clois callit Raplayis clois excluding allwayis the Colledge And ordains this parishe to be callit in all tyme comeing the Southeist parochin of this burgh And appoynts thair Church to be that Churche quhich is presentlie in building at the trone and for the Interim quhill the samen is complet they ordaine the middle Church of Sanct Geills Churche to be their Churche And appoyntis to be their Minister Mr. W^m^ Colvin."[1]

Tolbooth Parish.

For the fifth parish the Council "appoyntis for their Churche the said middle part of St. Geills Church Bot becaws the samen is allotted for the Southeist parochin for ane interim till the Kirk appoynted for them be compleit they appoynt the place for their service to be the Parliament Hows or Colledge Hall as best may be spaired" and "ordaines the saids parochins to be governed in matteris ecclesiasticall be their own severall Ministeris and Session And ilk Session to consist of the Provest, Baillies the Ministeris of the parishe and fowr elders and fowr deakens." The Bailie of the south east quarter to attend the Session of the south east parish which has to meet every Friday afternoon at 2 o'ck.

Copper from Amsterdam for Tron Roof.

26th October 1644.—The quhilk day the Provest baillies Dean of gild Thesaurer counsell and Deakens of crafts being conveynit in Counsell agries to theik the Kirk at the Trone with copper and for that effect ordaines to send to Hambrugh or Amsterdam for copper quhair the same may be had cheapest and maist conveinentlie And thairfoir ordaines the Dean of Gild, Thesaurer, Sir W^m^ Gray, Jo^n^ Binnie, Patrick Thomsone and Robert Mackean to meitt and find owt the fittest meanes and way how the same may be best and maist conveinentlie broght home with all diligence.

Colleague.

17th March 1648.—A Committee of six appointed to nominate

[1] Compare with previous boundaries, p. 101.

Mr. William Strauchan, Minister at Aberdeen, to be Minister of the South East parish along with Mr. William Colvin.

28*th June* 1648.—A Committee of three appointed to pass to the Presbytery of Edinburgh to desire their concurrence in the speedy transportation of Mr. William Strauchan, Minister, Aberdeen, to the South East parish.

Tron Roof.

14*th July* 1648. — The Council grants warrant to the Lord Provost, and others, to borrow such sums of money as may be required to prevent "the great dammage and prejudice lyk to fall out for laike of a sufficient ruiffe to the Kirk at the Trone and that the timber thairof is liklie to parishe and rott for laike of theiking and finding that the theiking of the said Kirk is a pious work moir pressing and moir necessar at this tyme then the prosecuting of the building of the Kirk at the Castlehill[1] thairfoir they have ordained the saids moneyis to be collected of the merk of the Tun . . . to be imployit in theiking of the said Kirk with a sufficient cover of leid" and to borrow what sum may be required to make up deficiency in amount collected of the merk per Tun.

Suspension for favouring the "unlawful engagement."

18*th August* 1648.—The General Assembly having suspended, for a time, Mr. William Colvin, Minister of the south east parish, and the north east Kirk being the only one in this burgh at present furnished with two ministers, the parishioners of the South east parish petition the Council to provide them with another Minister during the suspension of Mr. Colvin.

Church Keys!

22*nd June* 1649.—"Compeird the relict of wmqll. Hew Broun, beddell of the South east parosche Kirk of this brugh and producit the haill keyis of that Kirk to the Counsell quhilk were immediatlie delyvered to James Eillies, Thesaurer of the said Kirk."

13*th July* 1649.—Andro Hunter, Beadle, receives the Keys of the South east parish Kirk.

Colleague.

10*th April* 1650.—The Council appoints the bailies and others

[1] See p. 114.

"to speak with the Ministers concerning Mr. Jo[n] Sterling his coming to the Trone Kirk on Fryday eftir sermon."

12*th April* 1650.—The Council appoints Mr. Jo[n] Sterling to be "ordinar preacher in the Southeast paroshe Kirk of this brugh with Mr. Robert Lawrie his colleague for performing all Minister Dewties there during the Counsells pleasure." Mr. Sterling's Appointment.

19*th June* 1650.—The Council "grants to Mr. Johne Stirling, Minister, a part of Currie Hills (Skene of Curriehill) hous to dwell in beside Mr. David Dicksone, professor, during the Counsells pleasure and want of another professor in the Colledge and appoynts the Thesaurer to defeas the maill of his stipend propertionallie." Manse in the College.

18*th June* 1652.—Archibald Tod, Lord Provost, "producit a missive letter direct to the Counsell fra Mr. W[m] Colvill from Vtretche in answer to a letter direct to him be the Counsell in May last anent the place of Primar in the Colledge and his willingnes to accept." Colville nominated for Principalship, which was given to Robert, afterwards Archbishop Leighton.

The following is of special interest in relation to the beautiful oak roof in the Tron, which was fortunately saved from the fire in 1824.

The site chosen for the second projected church of 1637 (which was intended for the Tolbooth parish) was the Castlehill, on the ground now occupied by the Reservoir. Gordon's view of Edinburgh in 1647 shows that this church had been considerably advanced, and that it and the Tron were from one design. But a statement of Milne's indicates that it suffered the same fate as that of the Weigh-House, and Sir Daniel Wilson thinks[1] that its materials were most probably converted into redoubts for Cromwell's artillery during the siege of the Castle, for which purpose they lay very conveniently at hand. The roof material was used for the Tron roof, but the words "old aiken timber" make me regard it as very probable that the Castlehill Church itself had been

[1] *Memorials*, ii. 285.

roofed with the previous oak roof of the chapel of St. Mary, which was situated on the present north side of the Castle Parade. The Presbytery in 1595 "understanding that the Kirk thair of is unreparitt, willis the said constable[1] (James Reid) to repair the same, and to dedicatt it for na uther use but for preiching." Eight years afterwards the same records show that its right to be a parish church was disputed, and it became an armoury and storehouse, and not long after this was entirely demolished.[2]

The "old aiken timber" of the following extract may refer to the roof of this old church, rather than to its 1640 successor in the Castlehill; and if this conjecture is correct, then the present Tron Kirk oak roof has a much more venerable age and more historic associations than have been hitherto attributed to it.

Old Oak Roof.

23*rd June* 1652.—Jo[n] Foster commissioned "to bring doun the *old aiken timber* out of the Kirk of the Castlehill for repairing the roofe of the Kirk at the Trone."

Colvin was elected Principal by the Council, but Cromwell's influence procured the office for Leighton.

23*rd April* 1652.—The Council elects Mr. William Colvin, late Minister in Edinburgh, to be Primar of the College—objection being taken by some of the Ministers to Mr. Colvin's name being on the leet owing to his having formerly been deposed from the ministry, although not for "any error in doctrine or scandall in his conversatioun."

Colvin's Expenses.

23*rd February* 1653.—David M[c]gill, College Treasurer, ordained to pay last year's vacant stipend of the Principalship of the College to Mr. William Colvin, owing to the Council having been disappointed in their intention to elect him to be Principal of the College after his returning from Holland at extraordinary pains, travel and expense to fill the said office.

East part of the S.E. Parish for Lady Yester's.

24*th August* 1655.—Lady Yester's Kirk erected into a distinct parish, and the inhabitants of the eastmost part of the South east parish to be its parishioners and to repair thereto. Mr. John Stirling appointed Minister of said Kirk.

[1] Of the Castle of Edinburgh.

[2] *Memorials*, i. 167.

CORNER OF THE OAK ROOF OF THE TRON KIRK.

5th December 1656.—The Town divided into ten parishes—those on the south side to be, *inter alia*, "Mr. Jo[n] Sterling for his paroshe is to be from the Netherbow wpward wpon the South side of the hie Streitt to Cants Closse excluding the west side thairof crosseing over and goeing wp Robertsones Closse (excluding the west syde thairof) Both sydes of the Cowgait dounward to the Port and the families betuixt the Grammar Schooll and the Colledge in the backsides—Mr. Robert Lowrie beginning at Cants Closse taking in the wast syde thairof and the west side of Robertsones Closse and wp the south side of the Cowgait to Rapperlaws Closse exclusive and from Cants Closse wpward to Bells Wynd exclusive and from the fute of Bells Wynd eastward to Cants Closse fute." . . . "Each two Kirks ar to have bot one Sessioun So that the wholl ar onlie to be fyve Sessiouns and that there be eight elders and eight deacones in ilk Sessioun."

The Collegiate Parishes are subdivided for the Colleagues.

Tron and Lady Yester's (as others) have one Session.

9th April 1658.—"Baillie Jo[n] Jossie haveing reported that the great cloak which formerlie wes in the weyhous at the head of the Westbow is in a Pairties hand who will be willing to sell it bak at ane easie rate for fyve pund sterling or thairby The Counsell appoyntis the Dean of Guild to speak with the partie and if it be worthe to buy the same to the intent it may be set on the Trone Kirk which will be ane ornament to the Town."

The Weigh-House Clock for the Tron Steeple.

26th August 1659.—"Graunts to George Sympsone beddell of the Trone Kirk to be shairer and pairtner of the benefite of the commoun box with the rest of the beddells."

Beadles supported by the "common box."

29th February 1660.—The auditors find that the accounts of Hendrie Killoche's intromissions with the Seat rents of Mr. Robert Lowrie's Kirk from Whitsunday 1657 to Whitsunday 1659 extends to £1555 of Charge and the Discharge to £1606, 15s. 2d., leaving a balance due to him of £51, 15s. 2d.

Seat Rents.

9th March 1660.—Robert Murray, Dean of Guild, ordered to repair the Kirk at the Trone and put on a "pricket" on the Steiple

The Duty paid on Entry of Burgesses set apart for Tron Repairs.

of said Kirk—the dues of the "Arme Silver byganes restand awand wnpeyit" being allotted to defray the expense thereof.

Tron Beadle. 25*th April* 1660.—James Airmour, Tailzeour, appointed "ane of the ordinar Beddells of this Brugh in that paroshe churche, quhairof Mr. Robert Lowrie is minister, in place of the deceist Andro Hunter lait beddell thairof."

Clock in the Hands of the Gunner. 31*st October* 1660.—Committee appointed to meet with Master Broun, Gunner in the Castle, anent the weighous knok, and the Treasurer to give him some contentment for the keeping of it.

Stipends, etc. 12*th September* 1662.—The Council ordains "that there be four kirks and eight ministers to be planted thairin—a first and a second minister in eache and ilk First Minister to have 2500 Merks be yeir of stipend and housmaill and ilk second minister £1000 be yeir for stipend and housmaill."

Restoration of Episcopacy. The following is a graphic reference to the dissatisfaction of the "Restoration" period, when Episcopacy was re-established:—

6*th October* 1662.—The Council finds "*the conditioun of affaires to be at this present extraordinarie The wholl actual Ministers of this Cittie being removed be Acts of Parliament and of his Majesties Privie Counsell* (The Deane Mr. Robert Lawrie onlie excepted)."[1]

(Robert Lawrie, minister of the Tron, was translated to St. Giles' at the Restoration as "Dean," and was popularly known as the "nest-egg." All the other ministers were "removed.")

Colvill succeeds Leighton, now Bishop of Dunblane. 20*th October* 1662.—Mr. William Colvill, Primar of the College, produced to the Council a letter from Mr. David Drummond, Minister at Monedie, excusing himself, owing to illness, for not accepting their call to be one of the Ministers of the City (1).

. . . . . .

Parishes. 19*th November* 1662.—The Council divides the town into six parishes, and ordains that "the fourt paroshe sall contein that bounds within the Town fra the Netherbow wpon the South syde of

[1] See p. 189.

the hie Streitt to Peebles Wynd inclusive with that bounds fra the Cowgait Port wpon the north syde of the Cowgait to the fute of Pebles Wynd as also fra the Cowgait port wpon the South syde of the Cowgait to Raplays Closse excluding the Colledge and this paroshe to be callit the Southeast Paroshe and appoynts the Kirk at the Trone to be thair Paroshe Kirk."

The following references from Nicoll's *Diary* indicate the turmoils of the Restoration, "when the condition of affairs at this present were extraordinarie":—

> "The churches of Edinburgh being now reducit to sex parochynes, their wes onlie sex ministeris ordiner to serve thairat, with sex helperis. The names of these ordiner ministeris ar these: Mr. Robert Lowrie, Deane of Edinburgh, Mr. Josua Meldrum, lait minister at Kingorne, Mr. Johnne Robertsone, lait minister at Dysert, Mr. Archibald Turnour, lait minister at Northberuik, and Mr. Johnne Patersone, lait minister at Ellin, and Mr. (William) Annand, lait minister in England. Off these sex kirkes and ministeris four wer of the Chapter, viz. the College Kirk, the Trone Kirk, the Eistmest Kirk of St. Geillis and the Gray Freir Kirk."[1]
>
> "Mony were the chaynges within thir few yeiris of the kirkis of Edinburgh: Some tyme devyding (uniting?) twa of thame in one, as mycht be sene at this tyme in anno 1663; for quhairas the Gray Freir Kirk wes formerlie devydid in twa kirkis, it wes now, in this moneth of Januar 1663, alterit, and the mid wallis takin doun, and maid onlie one kirk, as at the begyning, quhane it wes foundit and buildit."[2]

The next Council extract shows that the appointments to the Edinburgh parishes, thus rendered vacant by resignations, were made by "lots," and as this procedure was unusual, I give the reference to the subject from the most recent authority.

> *Lots.*—"An object (app. usually a piece of wood) used in a widely diffused ancient method of deciding disputes, dividing

[1] *Diary*, p. 389. [2] *Ibid.* p. 389.

plunder or property, selecting persons for an office or duty, etc., by an appeal to chance. The 'lots,' each bearing the special marks of one of the competitors, were placed in a receptacle (in Homeric Greece a helmet); according to Greek procedure the vessel was shaken, the winning lot being that which fell out first; in Scandinavia the winning lot was drawn out by an uninterested party. In Eng. (except in rare modern instances, chiefly translations from ancient langs.) the word in this sense occurs only in the phrase to *cast*, *draw* (also *lay*, *put*, *send*, *throw*, *warp*) lots or lot; followed by *on* or *upon*, *over*, *between*, *for* (the object or objects concerned); also by inf. or indirect interrog. clause."[1]

Election by Lots.

30*th January* 1663.—Five Ministers drew lots as to which parish they should be appointed to, when the Southeast parish fell to the lot of Mr. John Paterson (afterwards Bishop Paterson), the North parish being supplied by Mr. Robert Lawrie,[2] Dean, without lot or question.

Provisions for Ministers.

6*th February* 1663.—The Council agrees that there shall be six principal Ministers who shall each receive 2500 merks in name of stipend and house mail, and anything else they can seek, yearly; and six second Ministers who shall be allowed £1000 each, yearly, as their stipend, house mail and what else they can crave.

Second Charges.

29*th April* 1663.—Mr. James Lundie, Preacher at Aberdeen, and others, appointed second ministers.

Tron Roof.

21*st August* 1663.—Refers to the Committee appoyntit for reparation of the Kirk at the Trone with James Daviesone Thesaurer to consider of the theiking of the rooffe with skailzie and the flatt rooffe with leid and of the saill of the copper to the best advantage and to get the money fra Thomas Calderwood quhilk he hes in his hands and to be received ffor doeing of the work and bringing home of leid with all conveinencie in the most frugall way they can.

[1] Murray's *Dictionary*, vi. 454.

[2] The Privy Council had appointed him Dean and assigned to him East St. Giles.

CENTRAL SECTION OF "THE PROSPECT OF THE NORTH SIDE OF EDINBURGH," *CIRCA* 1660

5*th May* 1665.—Mr. James Lundie, second Minister of the Southeast parish, appointed helper to Mr. Robert Lawrie, Dean of Edinburgh, in the North parish Kirk. Translation.

29*th March* 1665.—The Dean of Guild and John Milne, Master Mason, appointed to report upon a "way for mending the Drops of the Tron Kirk." Repairs.

5*th April* 1665.—Robert Walter, Musician, appointed Precentor in Trone Kirk.

14*th October* 1668.—Lord Whytkirk to occupy the seat in Tron Kirk vacated by Sir William Thomson. Allocations.

> Lord Whytekirk was the son of Sir John Scougal of Scougal, and brother of Patrick Scougal, Bishop of Aberdeen, the father of Henry Scougal, author of the *Life of God in the Soul of Man.* He was nominated an Ordinary Lord 17th February 1661, and at the sitting down of the Court on 1st June was appointed by their Lordships collector of the various contributions and other funds out of which the salaries of the judges were then paid. He was appointed a member of the Commission for the Plantation of Kirks in 1661 and 1663. He died in January 1672, and was honoured at his interment on the 7th of that month by the attendance of the judges, accompanied by the advocates and writers in mourning, and having their maces carried before them.[1]
>
> Sir William Thomson was Town-Clerk of Edinburgh from 1646 to 1684, as indicated by his protocol books.[2]

16*th August* 1671.—Thomas Sandelands, Wright to the Good Town, ordained to build "ane head to the tron Kirk steeple efter the forme of the Abay Kirk Steeple[3] bot ten foot higher." (Prior to this it was in an unfinished condition. See illustration.) Tron Steeple designed after Holyrood.

31*st January* 1672.—Gift by the Council of the loft or seat on the east side of the Tron Kirk (lately possessed by the Earl of Southesk) to the Rt. Hon. Sir Charles Maitland of Haltoun, Treasurer Depute Allocations.

[1] Lamont's *Diary*, p. 271. [2] See p. 61. [3] Cf. with p. 136.

of this Kingdome and one of the Senators of the College of Justice, in consideration of the many eminent and profitable good offices done by him to the City.

Earl of Southesk.—The word "lately" creates some doubt as to whether the reference is to James, second Earl of Southesk (1658–1669) or to Robert, third Earl of Southesk (1669–1688). The second Earl of Southesk succeeded his father in 1658, was sworn a Privy Councillor to Charles II., and had a grant of the office of Sheriff of Forfar. The last Parliament in which he sat was that in October 1669.

Robert, third Earl of Southesk (1669–1688) was for some time imprisoned in Edinburgh on account of a severe combat with George, third Earl of Linlithgow. Although he never occupied a prominent position in public affairs, he attended in his place in the Parliament of Scotland, and took part in the ordinary business of the country which engaged its deliberations. He was present in Parliament in July 1670, in June 1672, in November 1673, in 1681, and almost every year following till his death in 1688.[1]

Sir Charles Maitland of Haltoun, afterwards Earl of Lauderdale, was the third son of John, first Earl of Lauderdale, by Isabel Seton, daughter of Lord Chancellor Seton, Earl of Dunfermline. He married in 1652 Elizabeth, only daughter and heiress of Richard Lauder of Haltoun in Mid-Lothian, and afterwards assumed that designation. Shortly after the Restoration he was created Master and General of the Mint, and was admitted a Privy Councillor, 15th June 1661. He was elected one of the Commissioners for the shire of Edinburgh, Lord of the Articles in the Parliament of 1669, and was, on the 8th of June following, admitted an Ordinary Lord, in place of Sir Andrew Ayton of Kinglassie, deceased. In February 1671 he succeeded Sir William Bellenden as Treasurer Depute, and on the quarrel of Lauderdale with the Earl of Tweeddale, became his brother's chief assistant in the management of Scottish affairs. He was insolent and overbearing, and was thus described in a paper

[1] Fraser's *Carnegies of Southesk*, p. 146.

presented by the Duke of Hamilton to Charles II. in 1679, and detailing the grievances under which Scotland then suffered: "One thing is humbly offered to your Majesty, as the root of those and many other oppressions, which is, that the method of governing the kingdom of Scotland for several years has been, that the Lord Haltoun and his adherents frame any letter that they desire from your Majesty to your council, upon which, if a debate at any time arise concerning the matter of the letter, as being against or without law, and when it is proposed that a representation of this should be made to your Majesty, then the Lord Haltoun, in his insolent way, calls to have it put to the question, as if it were a crime to have any warrant debated or represented to your Majesty, which is procured by the Duke of Lauderdale or himself: and this is echoed by his party, and by this means all further debating is stopped." Upon Lauderdale's fall, Haltoun's enemies, who were practically the whole nation, began to attack him, and in July 1681 he was accused before Parliament for perjury in connection with the trial of Mitchell, who was accused of shooting at the Archbishop of St. Andrews—a prosecution that was only stopped by the adjournment of Parliament. In the following November a letter was procured from the King, whereby he was deprived of the honour of presiding in Council, which, in the absence of the Chancellor and Lord Privy Seal, it appears he had formerly enjoyed, and, at the same time, the accounts of the Treasury were ordered to be investigated. In the following June a Commission, chiefly composed of his enemies, was appointed to inquire into the coinage and mint, and upon their report he was deprived of office, and the Lord Advocate ordered to insist against him, either criminally or civilly, for malversation. The case was tried before the Court of Session, who, on 20th March 1683, found Sir John Falconer and him liable to the King in £72,000 sterling. His Majesty mitigated the penalty to £20,000 sterling, and ordained £16,000 to be paid to the Lord Chancellor, and £4000 to Graham of Claverhouse. The two latter disputed as to the division, and

Claverhouse obtained the lands of Dudhope and Constabulary of Dundee, which procured him, in the following reign, the more honourable title by which he is historically known. Haltoun succeeded his brother as Earl of Lauderdale in 1683, was readmitted a Privy Councillor in 1686, and died in 1691. Mackenzie describes him as "a person more obliged to fortune than to fame, being as much injured by the one as raised by the other."[1]

Tron Bell.

24*th January* 1673.—The Council approves of the agreement with Bailie Drummond for a bell for the Tron Kirk Steeple to cost 1490 merks 8s. Scots, and appoints the Treasurer to receive the bell and to make payment of the price thereof to Bailie Drummond at Whitsunday next and to cause the bell to be hung when convenient.

The following indicates that the Tron steeple possessed a chime of bells :—

Clock and Chimes.

25*th April* 1673.—Committee appointed "to meit with . . . Burbidge, Knock maker and agree with him the cheapest way they can for a knock to the tron kirk Steepell and a frame of Irone for holding the Chime of bells to be putt in the said Steepell."

Appointments.

21*st April* 1675.—Mr. James Lundie to be called to the Tron Church owing to Mr. William Annand having received a patent to be Dean of Edinburgh[2] and having therefore to preach in the east kirk of St. Giles.

Preachings.

5*th June* 1676.—The Council ordains that "the first and principal Ministers shall preach ilk Saboth day the foirnoone and that the second Ministers shall preach in the efternoon vpon the said Saboth day conforme to ancient and decent custome and practised by the present Ministers of this burgh since the restitution of bishops.

Precentor and Music-teacher.

3*rd March* 1676.—Robert Cowan appointed to succeed the

[1] Brunton and Haig's *Senators of the College of Justice*, pp. 396–398.

[2] The parish minister of the N.-W. Parish, worshipping in East St. Giles, was called officially Dean, as president of the Chapter during the Restoration Episcopacy.

deceased Robert Waters as Precenter in the Tron Kirk at a yearly salary of £100 Scots—he being also given liberty to keep "a vulgar and Musick school in this burgh."

5th January 1677.—John Nicoll appointed beadle of the Tron Kirk in succession to the deceased George Sympsone. Beadle.

28th August 1678.—The Councill apoynts the Dean of Gild to take the knock of the weyhous steiple which is lyeing in the laich Parliament hous and put the same vp in the tron Kirk Steiple and to cause make the horolodge and doe everrie other thing which is neidfull thairto. Clock.

8th November 1678.—Robert Borthwick and John Nicoll, beadles of the Tron Kirk, ordained to give up the rents of several seats, uplifted by them, and which seats they represented to the Collector of Seat rents as being vacant. They are further warned that they will be deposed from office if they commit the like fault in time coming. Defaulting Beadles.

11th May 1681.—"The Councell finding that the new bell brought home be James Fleming, Dean of gild for the vse of the tron Kirk Steeple *is a very fine bell and that the sound thereof is soe good that it satifies the wholl Inhabitants* Doe therfor appoynt him to furnish ane new knock for the said Steeple in respect the old knock is very vnsufficient and appoynts ane accompt of the pryce therof to be brought in that the Councell may therefter ordaine the payment of the same." Dutch (?) Bell and New Clock.

(The Council directed the old bell of the Tron Kirk to be put up within the steeple of the Greyfriars Church. This steeple was a square solid tower, roofed in at the west end of the church, as it appears in one of Captain Slezer's views (1693).)

22nd June 1681.—The Council orders payment of £1817, 9s. Scots as "the expense of ane bell and knock which wes brought home be John Trotter, Merchant, for tron kirk steiple." Payments to the Merchant-trader with Holland.

1st February 1682.—The Council appoints the Dean of Guild Bell-ringings.

to pay £24 Scots quarterly to George Davidson "for ringing the fyve, eight, nyn and ten hour bells in the tron kirk stiple and keiping the knock thairof."

Presentation. 15*th Febʳuary* 1682.—The Council agrees to give a presentation to Mr. John Menzies, Minister at Aberdeen, to be first Minister in the Tron Kirk, and Professor of Divinity in the College, and to allow him for both stipends 3200 merks Scots. (Mr. Menzies declined this call.)

Election, etc. 21*st March* 1683.—Mr. John Strauchan elected Minister of the Tron Kirk and Professor of Divinity and to receive 1600 merks as Professor and 1000 mks. Scots as Minister—as also to have possession of the dwelling-house, etc., belonging thairto and lately possessed by Mr. Lawrence Charteris, late Professor of Divinity in the College.

Salary to Bishop. 26*th September* 1683.—2000 merks ordained to be paid to John, Lord Bishop of Edinburgh, who was called to be a Minister in this City in October 1662, and served for a whole year in the Tron Church before having a colleague settled with him.

John Paterson was translated from Ellon to the Tron in 1662; from the Tron to the Deanery of St. Giles in 1672; was promoted to the Bishopric of Galloway in 1674, and through the powerful influence of the Duchess of Lauderdale was made Bishop of Edinburgh in 1679. He was made Archbishop of Glasgow in 1687.

Bell-ringer. 19*th December* 1683.—The allowance of £24 Scots quarterly to George Davidson, Craimer, for ringing the Tron Kirk bells being considered too much the Council reduce it to £20 per quarter.

Salary of Professor. 4*th January* 1684.—Mr. John Strauchan, Minister in the Tron Church, to receive what is due to him as Professor of Divinity in the College—he having been admitted to the Professorship at the same time as he was elected minister.

Libel. 19*th June* 1685.—A libel to be drawn against Mr. George Trotter, one of the Ministers of the Tron Kirk, for traducing the

Town Treasurer and others of the Magistrates and frequently abusing the Kirk Treasurers and putting violent hands upon them.

Action for Slander.

18th September 1685.—An action to be raised at the Procurator-Fiscal's instance against Mr. George Trotter, before the Presbytery or Synod or other competent Court, for "a manifest sclander and ryott vpon Mr. George Drummond present Thesaurer," and for scandalising "and baisley abuseing severall other of the Magistrates."

Refusal to pray for King and Queen.

27th April 1689.—Doctor John Strauchan, one of the Ministers of the Tron Church, and two others, deprived of their benefices for refusing to make public prayers for King William and Queen Mary.

Weekly Services.

4th October 1689.—The Presbyterian Ministers appointed to preach in the New Kirk upon Tuesday and Thursday weekly and the other Ministers of the City to preach by Towers (turns) in the Old Kirk upon any of the said days or both weekly as they think fit.

Deprived Ministers permitted to preach in Magdalene Chapel.

7th April 1691.—The Council receives up the Keys of the Magdalen Chapel and Taylor's Hall which had been set for public worship to the Ministers who were deprived of their charges for refusing to pray for King William and Queen Mary, and such Ministers are discharged from preaching in churches or elsewhere until they present themselves before the Lords of Privy Council and "take swear and subscrive the oath of alleadgance and engadge under thair hand to pray for King William and Queen Mary as King and Queen of this realme and not to owen the late King James the Seventh for thair King."

Allocations.

21st June 1689.—Warrant to the Earl of Lothian to possess a loft in the Tron Kirk lately possessed by Sir George M'Kenzie of Rosehauch.

Sir George Mackenzie was the son of Simon Mackenzie (brother to the Earl of Seaforth), and of Elizabeth, daughter of Principal Bruce of St. Leonard's College, St. Andrews. He was born at Dundee in 1636, and as a boy was distin-

guished for his vivacity of manner and facility in overtaking study. He studied at St. Andrews, Aberdeen, and Bourges in France (the "Athens of Scottish Lawyers"). He was called to the Bar in 1659, and was readmitted after the Restoration on the 5th of January 1661.

He was one of the counsel who defended Argyll at his trial for high treason in April 1661, and in the same year published *Aretina; or, the Serious Romance*, probably the first novel written in Scotland. In 1663 he published *The Religious Stoic: with a Friendly Address to the Fanatics of all Sects and Sorts*, and it is curious to read there, as the language of the "Bloodthirsty Advocate," these words: "My heart bleeds when I consider how scaffolds were dyed with Christian blood, and the fields covered with the carcases of murdered Christians"; or, again, "Opinion, kept within its proper bounds, is a pure act of the mind, and so it would appear that to punish the body for that which is a guilt of the soul, is as unjust as to punish one relative for another." In 1665 he produced an Essay on "Solitude preferred to Public Employment," and in 1667 appeared "Moral Gallantry," to which he added "A Consolation against Calumnies: showing how to bear them easily and pleasantly." In 1669 he was returned to Parliament as a member for Ross-shire, and led the popular side against Lauderdale, who only refrained from an endeavour to unseat him on the advice of the astute Sir Archibald Primrose.[1] Mackenzie was a man of great personal courage, and did not shrink from facing the anger of the judges in a dispute involving an important constitutional principle between the bench and the bar—an anger which he feared as little as he had feared the swollen face of Lauderdale, purple with rage, in the Parliament House. This two years' struggle left him the foremost advocate in Edinburgh, and in 1667 he became Lord Advocate. Deep in his nature was a profound respect for royalty and the prerogative, and he was prone to suspect the motives of any popular movement. Soon after he

[1] See p. 154.

became Lord Advocate, he conducted one of the most infamous prosecutions which ever took place in Scotland, and procured a condemnation against Mitchell from a jury in the pay of the Government, and notwithstanding Mitchell's defence, that he had made his confession under a promise that his life would be spared. It was then that he earned the name of "Bloody Mackenzie," and the murder of Sharpe and battles of Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge, put an end to all hopes of conciliation between him and the Covenanters.

If Claverhouse caught the Covenanters in the fields, it was Mackenzie who convicted them at the Court, using torture as his customary and effectual mode of examination. "Men," says Omond, "were carried screaming and struggling into the Council Chamber to be questioned by the author of *The Religious Stoic*." Mackenzie once boasted of his services to the Crown. "No King's Advocate," he exclaimed, "has ever screwed the prerogative higher than I have. I deserve to have my statue placed riding behind Charles the Second in the Parliament Close." He acted no longer as a judge, but as the puppet, pulled by special direction of the Privy Council — the criminal prosecutor in the days of the persecution.

When James determined to relax the penal laws against nonconformity, Mackenzie was in opposition to the King, and on the 17th of May 1686 was dismissed. He went to London and sought an interview with the King, who refused to see him. He returned to Edinburgh, put on the gown of an ordinary member, and defended the Covenanters with the same zeal which he had formerly displayed in persecuting them.

The execution of James Renwick took place on the 17th of February 1688, and on that day Dalrymple was "degraded to be Justice-Clerk," and Mackenzie once more emerged as Lord Advocate. He prosecuted with less virulence than before, but the Revolution was now at hand, and on 5th November 1688 the Prince of Orange landed at Torbay. Mackenzie went to London with the royalist coteries, who

were discussing the state of affairs. He hoped to induce William to establish Episcopacy in Scotland, maintaining that Presbytery was inconsistent with monarchy. But William's policy was to leave the question of the Established Church of Scotland to be settled by the people of Scotland, and the Estates were summoned to meet in Edinburgh on the 14th of March.

Mackenzie returned to Scotland, and in the midst of these exciting events and in danger of his life, he opened with a Latin speech the Advocates' Library in March 1689—a project which he had suggested about 1680 to the Faculty of Advocates. This was his last public act as Dean of Faculty. On the 22nd of April it was resolved to offer the throne to William and Mary, and on that day Mackenzie was not in the House. His public life was at an end. He found it impossible to remain in Scotland; in September 1689 he reached Oxford, where he was in the midst of congenial society, being made welcome at the tables of both Whigs and Tories, who were delighted with his wit and learning. Thence he removed to London, where he lived in St. James Street till his death on 8th May 1691. His body was brought to Edinburgh, and buried, with much pomp, in the Greyfriars' Churchyard. Stories were circulated about him. It was said that he had died in agony, "all the passages of his body running blood, like Charles IX. of France, author of the Paris Massacres." For a long time after, children were awed into obedience by the threat that he would rise from his grave and persecute them as he had done their forefathers, and within recent memory it was a mark of courage in an Edinburgh schoolboy if he dared to go to Mackenzie's tomb and repeat these lines:

> "Bluidy Mackenzie, come out, if ye daur!
> Lift up the sneck, and draw the bar!"

Omond, in his *Lord Advocates of Scotland*, thus refers to him (p. 235):

"Sir George Mackenzie deserves a high place in the history of literature in Scotland. His industry, from the

day he came to the bar until his death, was unflagging. He was the author of about thirty works, on all topics—Law, History, Politics, Morals, Heraldry. His style is artificial. He has little originality. But he is never slipshod, and he is seldom dull. As a legislator, he is chiefly remembered as the author of the original Act of 1685. As a lawyer, his authority was never regarded as of great weight, nor has time added to his reputation in that respect. As a politician, the facts of his life speak for themselves. The chosen task of his closing years was to vindicate the Government of Scotland during the reign of Charles the Second. It was a hopeless attempt; and the reader rises from the perusal of the vindication feeling that the Government must have been bad indeed for which so able a pleader can make no better defence."

25*th September* 1689.—The Earl of Lothian to possess the fore seat of the South east loft in the Tron Kirk which enters by the back entry to the Kirk for payment of the ordinary rent.

The Earl of Lothian.—Robert Kerr, fourth Earl and first Marquis of Lothian (1636–1703), was the eldest son of William, third Earl, by his wife Anne, Countess of Lothian in her own right. He succeeded his father in 1675, and was a supporter of the Revolution. He was appointed a Privy Councillor to King William, and was also constituted Justice-General. On the death of his brother Charles, second Earl of Ancrum, in 1690, he united that earldom to his other titles. In 1692 he was appointed Commissioner of the King to the General Assembly, and the occasion was notable on account of the recommendation of the King that Episcopal ministers, who were prepared to accept the confession of faith and submit to the authority of the ecclesiastical courts, should be received into the Church. The royal recommendation was advocated by Lothian in a speech, the liberality of which tended rather to awaken than allay prejudice. After a month spent in routine business, the Assembly still refrained from considering the subject pressed on them, and it was dissolved by Lothian, who declined to fix any date for the

next Assembly. Thereupon, and notwithstanding Lothian's protest, the Moderator appointed the third Wednesday of August 1693, but no Assembly was held.

Lothian was created Marquis by patent on 23rd February 1701, and died on 15th February 1703. He married Lady Jean Campbell, second daughter of Archibald, Marquis of Argyll.

2nd October 1689.—Sir Collin Campbell of Arbruckle to possess the seat or loft in the Tron Church, vacated by the Earl of Kincarden for payment of the ordinary rent; and George Hamiltoun of Binnie to possess the seat in said Kirk lately occupied by Sir Patrick Home on payment of rent.

Sir Colin Campbell of Aberuchill was the son of Sir James Campbell, who was killed at the battle of Worcester in 1651. He was appointed an Ordinary Lord at the Revolution, took his seat on 1st November 1689, and at the same time was named one of the King's Privy Councillors. He represented the county of Perth in Parliament from 1693 to 1702, having previously been appointed in 1663 one of the justices of the peace for that county. He petitioned Parliament, 14th June 1693, for remuneration on account of the losses, which he and his dependants had sustained during the Rebellion. His petition was remitted to a Committee, who gave in a report to the Estates of Parliament in 1695, stating his losses to be over 17,201 pounds, which the Parliament recommended "to his majesty's royal bounty for reparation." An Act was passed the same day in his favour of four yearly fairs, to be held in the county of Perth. Upon the accession of Queen Anne, he was continued in his offices, named one of her Privy Council, and died at Edinburgh in 1704.

The Earl of Kincardine was the son of George Bruce of Carnock, by Mary, daughter of Sir John Preston of Valleyfield. He married a wealthy Dutch lady, contributed to the necessities of Charles II., and was appointed a Privy Councillor at the Restoration. He was the only member

who openly opposed the re-establishment of Episcopacy until the sense of the nation should be ascertained regarding it. Along with the Earl of Tweeddale and Sir Robert Murray, he was entrusted with the government of Scotland in 1667, and in comparison with the previous rule, his was mild and gentle. He was admitted an Extraordinary Lord in 1667, entered into opposition against the Duke of Lauderdale in 1674, and went to London to explain the true state of affairs to the King. Lauderdale's influence was, however, too powerful, and occasion was soon afterwards taken to dismiss him from his seat at the council-table. He died in 1680, and Bishop Burnet thus refers to him: "He was both the wisest and the worthiest man that belonged to his country, and fit for governing any affairs but his own, which he, by a wrong turn, and by his love for the public, neglected to his ruin. . . . He had a noble zeal for justice, in which even friendship could not bias him: he had solid principles of religion and virtue, which showed themselves in great lustre on all occasions: he was a faithful friend and a merciful enemy."

Sir Patrick Home or Hume was the eldest son of Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth, and succeeded to his father's estates in 1648. He was educated by his mother, and was elected M.P. for the county of Berwickshire in 1665. He opposed Lauderdale's administration, and was imprisoned for his opposition to the Government, 1675–1679. After liberation, and to escape further persecution, he concealed himself in the family burying-vault at Polwarth, where he remained many weeks, and was supplied with food by his daughter (Grizel, afterwards by marriage Lady Grizel Baillie), who, although then only about twelve years of age, went alone at midnight, and remained with him till early in the morning, carefully withdrawing in time to reach home before any of the family had risen. She had to exercise considerable ingenuity in procuring food to carry to her father, being afraid of creating the least suspicion in the minds of the servants; and the plan she

adopted was to steal the food off her own plate during the meals, and conceal it in her apron. An incident happened one day in connection with this romantic episode which is worth recording. She had dined on sheep's head, which she knew to be one of her father's favourite dishes, and while the rest of the children were partaking of their food, she was busy appropriating the greater part of the head. When her brother Sandy (afterwards Lord Marchmont) had finished a part of his meal, he looked up with astonishment, and said, "Mother, will ye look at Grizel? While we have been supping our broth, she has eaten up the whole sheep's head." This afforded amusement to her father, who, when he heard of what had occurred, desired that Sandy might have a share of the next. As he had not sufficient light to allow him to read, he amused himself reciting Buchanan's psalms, the greater part of which he could repeat to the close of his life. After other romantic incidents, he escaped to Holland, and accompanied Argyll's expedition to Scotland in 1685, of which he wrote an account.[1] He joined William of Orange, and represented Berwickshire in the Convention Parliament of 1689. He was restored to his estates, and was created a peer of Scotland in 1690. He was appointed Sheriff of Berwickshire in 1692, and Extraordinary Lord of Session in 1693, High Chancellor of Scotland in 1696, Earl of Marchmont in 1697, and continued to take a prominent part in public affairs till his death at Berwick in his eighty-fourth year. It is a pleasure to recall that this distinguished Scotsman and his daughter, Lady Grizel Baillie, authoress of "And werena my heart licht I wad dee" and other songs, both worshipped in the Tron Kirk.[2]

2nd October 1689.—Mr. William Bailie, Advocate, gets Provost Kinloch's Seat.

Probably Mr. William Baillie (advocate) who was

[1] *Marchmont Papers*, 1831.

[2] Cf. this with literary members of the Minto family, p. 308.

married to Dame Elizabeth Douglas by Mr. William Annand, Dean, 15th June 1682.[1]

Francis Kinloch of Gilmerton was Lord Provost of Edinburgh in 1677 and 1678.

6th November 1689.—Dean of Guild to repair the six Churches "and to pay for the lyning of Fingletoun his seat in the Tron Kirk."

Fingelton.—Hamilton of Fingleton and Preston.

4th December 1689.— . . . . Erskine, Lord Cardross, rents seat in the Tron Kirk lately possessed by the Earle of Queensberry, who is now out of the parish. Allocation.

Henry Erskine, third Lord Cardross, was the eldest son of David, second Lord Cardross. He succeeded to the title in 1671, having been educated by his father in the principles of civil and religious liberty. He opposed Lauderdale, and was fined £5000 for permitting Lady Cardross to have worship in his own house with her own chaplain in 1674. He was imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle from 1675–1679, and was again fined in 1677 when in prison, with the ostensible purpose of keeping him there. When liberated, he proceeded to South Carolina, where he founded a settlement. He returned to Europe, and accompanied the Prince of Orange to England in 1688. He acted under Mackay in favour of the new Government, was restored to his estates in 1689, and was made a Privy Councillor and General of the Mint. He died at Edinburgh, aged forty-three. His grandson was John Erskine of Carnock, son of the Hon. Colonel John Erskine of Carnock, third son of Lord Cardross by his second wife Anne, eldest daughter of William Dundas of Kingscavil. His great-grandson was the famous Dr. John Erskine of Greyfriars' Church, Edinburgh, colleague of Principal Robertson, and the leader of the Evangelical party in the Church of Scotland.

The Earl of Queensberry.—This was William Douglas, third Earl and first Duke of Queensberry. By the influence

[1] *Edinburgh Marriage Register*, p. 39.

of Lord Chancellor Rothes he was appointed Lord Justice-General in June 1680; was admitted an Extraordinary Lord of Session in 1681; was advanced to be Marquis of Queensberry in 1684; continued in all his offices on the accession of James VII., and was nominated Lord High Commissioner to his first Parliament; he fell under the King's displeasure for his slackness in promoting the pretended Toleration Act in 1686; at the Revolution he acquiesced in the offer of the Crown to William and Mary. He spent a great portion of his later years (1679–1689) in erecting his new castle at Drumlanrig—still a favourite seat of the Buccleuch family. He died on 28th March 1695, and was buried in Durisdeer Church.

Bell.

13*th December* 1689.—£343, 10s. Scots to be paid to John Meikle, Coppersmith and Founder, "for refounding the bell in the Tron Church being 630 lb. weight at £45 Scots per hundred and for a lock and glob to the Netherbow."

Galleries and internal Aspect of Tron.

19*th February* 1690.—The Council approve of a Report finding "that the Easter loft in the Tron Kirk may be advanced fyve foot betuixt the South litle loft and the North large loft and that the same may be divydit in fyve piewes to the front and four piewes behind by distinct divisions And that there is a necessity that these divisions have dores locks bands and others for compleating of the same And for that effect that they most be floored jested and Standarts and dorments be put therin and that the samen be syllered beneath the foir face of the said loft."

The Dean of Guild is empowered to enter into an agreement with Andrew Paterson, the Good Town's Wright, for the execution of the work, which must not exceed £240 Scots including materials.

Allocations.

13*th October* 1693.—Dame Jean Foulis, Lady Linplum and Sir James Justice, one of the Principal Clerks of the Session, her husband, rent the Seat in the Tron Church possessed by Sir John Foulis of Ravelstoune, her father.

Dame Jean Foulis, Lady Linplum, was the eldest

daughter of Sir John Foulis of Ravelston, and was married first to John Hay of Linplum, and had to him one daughter, Margaret Hay, who was married to Lord William Hay, son of the Marquis of Tweeddale. On his death, she was again married to Sir James Justice of Crichton, here mentioned also as a seatholder.

5th January 1694.—A Committee appointed to "visit the present alteration of the Council Seats in the trone Church and to consider if the present forme be convenient or not." Council Seats.

27th April 1694.—£20 Scots for each kirk to be paid as the cost of taking down and putting up the seats in the respective kirks the time of the Communion in this City last winter. Communion Tables.

18th May 1694.—The Countess of Argyle to occupy that "fore loft in the trone church formerly possest be the Countess Dowager of Mar." Allocations.

The Countess of Argyll.—This lady was the daughter of Sir Lionel Talmash and wife of Archibald, tenth Earl and first Duke of Argyll. She was the mother of John, second Duke of Argyll and Duke of Greenwich, and of Archibald, third Duke of Argyll. Her husband, the first Duke of Argyll, was an active promoter of the Revolution, and accompanied the Prince of Orange to England. In 1689 he was admitted into the Convention as Earl of Argyll, although his father's attainder was not reversed. He was one of the commissioners deputed from the Scottish Parliament to offer the Scottish Crown to the Prince of Orange, and to tender him the coronation oath. His forfeited estates were restored to him; he was admitted a member of the Privy Council, and in 1690 was made one of the Lords of Treasury. In 1694 he was admitted one of the Extraordinary Lords of Session, and in 1696 Colonel of the Scots Horse Guards. In 1701 he was created Duke of Argyll. He died in 1703, and "though undoubtedly a man of ability, he was too dissipated to be a great statesman."

The Countess Dowager of Mar was Lady Mary Maule, eldest daughter of George, second Earl of Panmure. She married Charles, tenth Earl of Mar (1650–1689), who was sworn a Privy Councillor to King Charles II. in 1682, and also to King James VII., but disapproving of James' measures he left his house to go abroad, when intelligence of the landing of the Prince of Orange arrived. He appeared in the Convention of Estates, but joining the disaffected party was arrested in March 1689, and dying on the 23rd of April, he was buried at Alloa, where there is a monument to his memory. The heavy debts contracted by his father and grandfather, in the time of the civil wars, obliged him to dispose of great part of his landed property, particularly the barony of Erskine in Renfrewshire, the original possession of the family.[1]

Allocations. *19th November* 1694.—Lady Enterkine and Lady Balgonie to possess the seat in the Tron Kirk lately occupied by Lady Philiphaugh.

Lady Enterkin, daughter of John Murray of Polmais, and wife of John Cunningham of Enterkin. After her husband's death, she married Sir John Foulis of Ravelston, and her death in 1702 is thus referred to: "Sunday, 27 Dec. 1702 about 5 o'clock at night dame Marie Murray my dear and well-beloved wife departed this life. She was a most sober, vertuous obliging persone of ane equall temper, a most kind and loving wife. She was buried at my tomb in the Gray frier church yard about 3 o'clock the 31 Decr. y^r^after. She had a most sweet and peaceable end in our lodging at the head of forrester's wynd without children of ye mariage."[2]

Lady Balgonie was the wife of John Erskine of Balgonie. John Erskine had the royal warrant dated 3rd July 1674 at Hampton Court to be created a baronet with rem. to heirs male of the body, but the patent never passed the Great Seal, nor was the title ever assumed. The family continued

[1] *Douglas Peerage*, ii. 217.

[2] *Foulis of Ravelstoun's Account Book*, p. lxvi.

at least till 1764, and in 1689 and 1690[1] he still figures as "John Erskine of Balgonie." Lady Balgonie is thus, in accordance with the custom of the time, a courtesy title.

The registration at any rate did not pass the Great Seal, and the disponee therefore did not take the dignity.[2]

The Erskines of Balgonie lived at the head of Niddrie's Wynd.[3]

Lady Philiphaugh, wife of Sir James Murray of Philiphaugh, "a man of great parts and learning, who was appointed one of the senators of the college of justice in 1689, and lord register in 1705."[4] Sir James was twice married, his first wife being Anne, the daughter of —— Hepburn of Blackcastle, and his second being Margaret, daughter of Sir Alexander Don of Newton, by whom he had three sons and five daughters.

8th May 1695.—John Lord Belhaven to occupy the seat in the Tron Kirk formerly possessed by Sir William Binning and now by Lady Castlehaven, for the ordinary rent, upon condition that Lady Castlehaven and her grandchildren shall be accommodated in said seat when they come to church. Allocations.

John Hamilton, second Lord Belhaven, was a distinguished Scottish patriot and statesman. He was the eldest son of Robert Hamilton of Barncluith, Senator of the College of Justice, and was conspicuous for his opposition to the tyrannical measures of Charles II.'s government in Scotland. He suffered imprisonment for that opposition, and after the Revolution he attended the meeting of the Scottish nobility in London, and concurred in the address to the Prince of Orange to assume the government. He contributed much to the settling of the Crown on William and Mary, and was chosen a Privy Councillor for Scotland. He commanded a troop of horse at Killiecrankie, and is chiefly remembered for his eloquent opposition to the Treaty of Union with England. He died in London, on his release

[1] *Acts of Parliament*, iv. 19–140.
[2] *Complete Baronetage*, iv. 301.
[3] *Greyfriars' Register*, p. 208.
[4] *Baronage of Scotland*, p. 106.

from prison on the charge of favouring the Pretender, aged fifty-two.

He became second Lord Belhaven on the death of the first Lord in 1679. He published an *Advice to the Farmers in East Lothian to labour and improve the grounds.*

Sir William Binning of Walifuird was Lord Provost of Edinburgh in 1676.

Lady Castlehaven was the wife of Sir George Mackenzie of Tarbat (afterwards Earl of Cromarty), and daughter of Annie, daughter of Sir John Sinclair, Bart., of Mey. Sir George Mackenzie was nominated one of the Lords of Session in 1661, and remained in disgrace during the principal part of the administration of Lauderdale, but having succeeded in mollifying that statesman, he was appointed Justice-General in 1678, and the same year was admitted a Privy Councillor. In 1681 he was admitted one of the Ordinary Lords, having been appointed Clerk-Register in place of Sir Archibald Primrose of Carrington by patent dated 16th October that year. On the accession of James II. he was created Viscount of Tarbat, Lord Macleod and Castlehaven, 15th February 1685. Upon the accession of Queen Anne, Lord Tarbat was appointed one of the Secretaries of State and created Earl of Cromarty in 1703. He resigned that office, and was admitted Justice-General on 26th June 1705. He died in 1714.

Castlehaven was the junior title of the first Earl of Cromartie.

Sir Colin Campbell of Aberuchill, having married Catherine Mackenzie, sister of Sir George, was his brother-in-law.[1]

Allocations. *7th June* 1695.—Sir Archibald Murray of Blackbarrony to possess two little seats in the Tron Kirk and the Dean of Guild to get them converted into one pew.

Sir Archibald Murray of Blackbarony, third Baronet, was appointed by Charles II. lieutenant-colonel of the militia

[1] See p. 219.

regiment of the counties of Linlithgow and Peebles, and after the Revolution was appointed master of the works, etc., for Scotland. He married Lady Mary Keith, daughter of William, seventh Earl Marishall, relict of Sir James Hope, progenitor of the Earls of Hopeton.

1st July 1696.—Sir Patrick and Hary Nisbets of Dean to get one half and Robert Anstruther of Wrae the other half of the seat in the Tron Church, lately possessed by the said Sir Patrick and the Lady Grange on payment of the ordinary rent. Allocations.

Sir Patrick Nisbet.—The father represented a branch of ancient Scottish family. His wife was Catherine, elder daughter of Sir William Dick of Braid, who introduced an advantageous and extensive trade from the Baltic to the Firth of Forth.

His eldest son, Henry Nisbet (here mentioned), married the daughter of Sir John, third Baronet of Riddell.

Sir Robert Anstruther of Wrae was born in 1658 at Anstruther Easter, and was the third son of Sir Philip Anstruther of Anstruther. He was one of five brothers, all of whom were knighted.

His second wife was Jean, daughter and heiress of William Monteith of Wrae. He purchased the estate of Balcaskie in 1698. He was created a Baronet in 1694, and died in 1737.[1]

Lady Grange was the wife of the Hon. James Erskine of Grange (afterwards called Lord Grange)[2] and second son of Charles, tenth Earl of Mar.

26th February 1697.—For good services done to the Town by the deceased Sir John Hall, sometime Lord Provost, the Council grants to his son, Sir James Hall of Dunglas, for payment of the ordinary rent, the seat or pew in the North loft of the Tron Church formerly possessed by the Earl of Lauderdale, and that although the said Sir James does not reside in the Tron Kirk parish. Allocations.

[1] *Complete Baronetage*, iv. 366.

[2] *Douglas Peerage*, ii. 219.

Sir John Hall—Sir James Hall.

Sir John Hall was Lord Provost of Edinburgh, and was M.P. (S) thereof 1689 till his death in 1696, being Præses of the Edinburgh Committee for taking the oaths of the members of the Universities to the Confession of Faith. He was created a Baronet in 1687, and died in 1695.

Sir James Hall succeeded his father in 1695, and died in 1742. He evidently lived while in Edinburgh at the Dean.[1]

Earl of Lauderdale.—Richard, fourth Earl of Lauderdale, was a Roman Catholic, so this reference must be to his father, who died in 1691—Charles, third Earl of Lauderdale. He was the youngest son of the first Earl, and, on the decline of his brother's influence, was deprived of office, as General of the Mint. His son, the fourth Earl, was a translator of Virgil, and married Lady Anne Campbell, second daughter of Archibald, ninth Earl of Argyll.

Allocations. 13*th September* 1699.—On payment of the ordinary rent Sir Patrick Murray of Pitdinnes and Dame Janet Murray Lady Pittfirren gets possession of the Loft in the Tron Kirk lately possessed by the Earl of Annandale.

Sir Patrick Murray of Pitdennis was the second son of Sir William Murray of Clermont and Newton. His only child Janet (Lady Pitfirren) married Charles Halkett of Pitfirrane, who was created Baronet in 1661–62, was M.P. for Fifeshire 1682–83 and for Dunfermline 1689 till his death in 1697. He was a member of the committee which resolved in 1689 that King James had forfeited the Crown. The date of his patent is given as 1661–62,[2] and in Milne's list 1670–71.[3]

The Earl of Annandale was the eldest son of James, second Earl of Annandale, and Lady Henrietta Douglas, fourth daughter of William, first Marquis of Douglas. He succeeded his father in 1672, while a minor, and was one of

[1] *Complete Baronetage*, iv. 353, 354.
[2] *Douglas Baronage*, p. 286.
[3] *Complete Baronetage*, iii. p. 334.

the first to join in the Revolution. He abandoned, however, this cause and beleagued himself with his brother-in-law, Sir James Montgomery, for the restoration of King James. He afterwards repented of this step, confessed his fault to King William on 24th August 1690, who committed him prisoner to the Tower. He was shortly afterwards set at liberty, and was received into royal favour. King William nominated him one of his Privy Councillors, and appointed him one of the Extraordinary Lords of Session in 1693. In 1695 he was constituted one of the Lords of the Treasury and President of the Parliament of Scotland, which met at Edinburgh in May that year. He received a pension from the King, which created much discontent and jealousy. He filled many important offices during the reign of King William, Queen Anne, and George I., and died in 1721.

1*st December* 1699.—Lady Gilmertoun to get possession of an equal half of the large loft in the Tron Kirk presently possessed by Sir James Hall of Dunglass[1] who is for the time out of the kingdome.

Lady Gilmertoun was the daughter of David (Leslie), first Lord Newark, the famous general, by Jean, daughter of Sir John Yorke. She married Sir Francis Kinloch, second Baronet of Gilmerton in 1676, and surviving her husband, who died in 1699, she married in 1702, Sir Alexander Ogilvy, first Baronet of Forglen, and a Lord of Session.[2]

21*st August* 1700.—Robert Currie, Arithmetician, appointed Precentor. Precenter in the Tron Kirk in succession to the deceased Samuell Aitkin.

17*th June* 1702.—Mr. Ebenezer Veatch elected to perform Morning Preacher. "preaching and prayers in the Tron Kirk at the tyme and in the manner as is appoynted by Mr. M^c^callas Mortification and recommends to him furder to preach one dyet upon the Lord's Day as he shall be imployed by any of the ministers of the burgh and the Magistrates doe furder declare and appoynt that he shall not be

[1] See p. 234.

[2] *Complete Baronetage*, iv. 346.

burdened with preaching one dyet each day in the prison of this burgh." The current annual rent of 18,000 merks Scots to be paid him yearly.

Morning Preacher.

9th October 1702.—Mr. Ebenezer Veatch, Lecturer in the Tron Kirk, to visit the sick of the Tron Kirk parish to ease the Rev. Mr. George Meldrum of that part of his ministerial function.

Morning Lecturer.

12th May 1703.—Mr. James Alstone appointed to preach and pray in the Tron Kirk conform to Mr. M^c^calla's Mortification.

Two Tron Morning Lecturers on account of the good they are doing.

17th November 1703.—Owing to the great good blessing and usefulness derived from the Lectures in the Tron Church, not only to the inhabitants of the City but to the preachers themselves, who have great opportunity to exercise and make known their gifts and qualifications for the ministry so that several have already been called from that Office and settled in considerable congregations, the Council ordain that there shall be two Lecturers in future, and appoint Mr. Thomas Davidson and Mr. Alexander Irving, preachers of the Gospel to be Lecturers in the Tron Kirk conform to Mr. David M^c^calla's Mortification.

Lord's Supper.

17th January 1704.—The Magistrates to recommend the Ministers to appoint a day for celebrating the Lord's Supper.

Allocations.

3rd June 1702.—At desire of the Lady Lauderdale the Council prefers the Countess of Callendar to a seat in the Tron Kirk.

Lady Lauderdale was the only child of Alexander, tenth Earl of Glencairn, and wife of John, fifth Earl of Lauderdale, who became a member of the Faculty of Advocates in 1680, was knighted and elected Member of Parliament for the county of Edinburgh in 1685. Concurring in the Revolution, he was appointed one of the Lords of Session in 1689, by the title of Lord Ravelrig, and held that office till his death. He was, the same year, colonel of the militia of the shire of Edinburgh. Succeeding his brother in 1695, he took the oaths and his seat in Parliament in 1696. He supported the Treaty of Union in Parliament, and died in

1710. A contemporary says of him: "He is a gentleman that means well to his country, is a well-bred man, handsome in his person, fair complexioned, and towards fifty years old."

The Countess of Calendar was Lady Margaret Hay, second daughter of John, twelfth Earl of Errol, and was married to James, fourth Earl of Calendar, and on the death of his uncle, fifth Earl of Linlithgow. Engaging in the Rebellion, 1715, the Earl was attainted of high treason, and his estate and honours were forfeited to the Crown.

1*st December* 1703.—The Earl of Glasgow to possess the seat in the Tron Church formerly occupied by the Earl of Marchmount.

The Earl of Glasgow.—David Boyle of Kelburn was appointed Treasurer-Depute 2nd January 1703, and on the 12th of April following, Earl of Glasgow, Viscount of Kelburn, etc. He steadily promoted the Protestant succession, was one of the Commissioners for the Treaty of Union, and represented the Queen as Lord Commissioner to the General Assembly from 1706 to 1710. On the alarm of invasion by the Pretender in 1715, the Earl, observing that there were but few regular troops in Scotland, made an offer to George I. to maintain one thousand men upon his own proper charges for His Majesty's service. He received for this the King's thanks, and took an active part in promoting the arming and disciplining of the fencible men in Ayrshire. He died in 1733.

Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth was created Earl of Marchmont in 1697, and held the office of Commissioner from the King to the session of the Scottish Parliament in 1698. He was Commissioner to the General Assembly in 1702. On the accession of Queen Anne, he was continued in the office of Chancellor, but having in the Parliament of June 1702, brought in a bill for securing the succession in the Protestant line, which was defeated by a prorogation, he was deprived of the great seal. The loss of his high office did not prevent him being a zealous and active supporter of the Treaty of Union. In his correspondence with

the Duke of Devonshire and Lord Somers, he pressed on them a decided opinion that the Protestant succession could not otherwise be effectually secured, and he contributed greatly to the carrying of that important measure.[1]

19*th April* 1704.—Alexander Earl of Eglintoune to possess the seat in the Tron Kirk formerly occupied by the Earl of Buchan.

Alexander, ninth Earl of Eglinton (1701–1729), was a member of King William's Privy Council, and a Commissioner of the Treasury. In 1700 he sat and voted in Parliament by royal patent, in place of the Lord High Treasurer. On the occasion of the rising in favour of the Stuart Family in 1715, the Earl was a strenuous supporter of the Government and House of Hanover, and rendered good service to the cause, by his activity in raising the regiment of the Ayrshire Fencibles. He was thrice married, and had a family of seventeen children. He married (1) the eldest daughter of Lord Cochrane; (2) the Lady Anne Gordon, eldest daughter of the first Earl of Aberdeen; and (3) in 1709, Susanna, daughter of Sir Archibald Kennedy of Culzean. Sir William Fraser thus refers to Countess Susanna, his third wife: "She was acknowledged to be the most beautiful woman of her time; of unusually tall stature, yet perfect both as to figure and carriage, and with a face of exquisite beauty. To the charms of her personal appearance were added the more powerful attractions of genius and great accomplishments. Possessing these attractions, in the elevated position which she occupied in society during so lengthened a lifetime, it is not surprising that many interesting particulars concerning her have been preserved and handed down to us. She was never without admirers, and both their number and importance were greatly increased on her introduction to Edinburgh society, about the time of the Union between Scotland and England. Miss Kennedy had long been considered by her friends and attendants as destined to marry the Earl of Eglinton! The chief ground on which this opinion rested was the

[1] *Douglas Peerage*, ii. 180.

circumstance of a hawk, with Lord Eglinton's name upon its bells, having alighted on her shoulders one day whilst she was walking in her father's garden at Culzean. But at the time that Miss Kennedy's friends and servants thus saw fit to interpret this omen, there were certainly many obstacles in the way of the fulfilment of their prediction. The disparity of the ages of the parties was considerable; and more serious still, the Earl was a married man, and his Countess Anne, though sickly, had apparently no intention of dying to accommodate her husband or Miss Kennedy. But the nursery prediction was to be fulfilled. Anne, Countess of Eglinton, died and left her husband a free man. It was then that the Earl of Eglinton declared himself amongst the number of Miss Kennedy's admirers, and from his numerous rivals carried off the prize."[1]

Countess Susanna was a great patroness of literary men, and on the death of the Earl in 1729 devoted herself to the education of her family. During her residence in Auchans she lived in great state, and always maintained a dignified reserve even in her own family. Her children were taught to address her as "your ladyship," and without any want of affection she observed the same politeness with regard to them. In her old age she entertained Doctor Johnson on his return from the Hebrides, and Boswell states: "In the course of conversation it came out that Lady Eglintone was married the year before Dr. Johnson was born: upon which she graciously said to him, that she might have been his mother, and she now adopted him." She was so pleased with the Doctor, that at parting she embraced him—a mark of respect and affection which made a deep and lasting impression on him. She died in the ninety-first year of her age and the fifty-first of her widowhood, preserving her stateliness of mien, her symmetry of person, and even the brilliancy of her complexion to the end. These features descended in some measure to her daughters, and the phrase "the Eglintoune air" came into use at Edinburgh to signify

[1] Chambers' *Traditions*, i. 262; and *Memorials of the Earls of Eglinton*, i. 107, 108.

all that was stately, noble, and dignified. Sir William Fraser thus refers to her tastes, which always continued peculiar: "Not the least peculiar of her fancies was that of taming and making pets of rats, which abounded in the rumbling old mansion at Auchans. In her effort to tame them her ladyship was so far successful as to have a great number of them obedient to her command. At stated hours, she tapped on a certain panel of her oaken door, and a dozen or more of these visitors made their appearance. Having satisfied themselves from the contents of a trough placed in the corner of the room for their special accommodation, the favoured but odious creatures, at the signal of her ladyship, again disappeared with equal alacrity. Her ladyship affected to find the origin of her favour for these ugly creatures in the ingratitude of those of her own species whom she had patronised and benefited. She sometimes pretended to complain of never meeting with gratitude except from four-footed protégés."[1]

Earl of Buchan. — William, eighth Earl of Buchan, succeeded his father in 1664, and at the Revolution of 1688 adhered to the party of James and took up arms in his cause; but falling into the hands of King William's forces, he was committed to the Castle of Stirling, where he died in 1695, unmarried. On his death, the succession to the title passed to David, fourth Lord Cardross, although not descended from the former Earls of Buchan. The Parliament of Scotland in 1698 passed an Act allowing the Lord Cardross to be called in the rolls of Parliament, as Earl of Buchan.

Two Morning Lecturers.

24th May 1704.—The Ministers propose that the two Morning Lecturers in the Tron Church be desired "to teach frequently cathetically Doctrine and lykeways recomends the circumstances of the Tron Kirk to consideration And to see the said Congregation dewly supplied in respect the Reverend Mr. Meldrum is partly

[1] *Earls of Eglinton*, i. 112.

eased of his ministrie and Mr. Crichtoune is become aged and valitudinarie."

2nd March 1705.—John Lord Belhaven[1] to possess seat in Tron Church lately occupied by Hugh Dalrymple of North Berwick.

Sir Hugh Dalrymple of North Berwick was the third son of Viscount Stair, and was admitted advocate in 1677, being afterwards constituted one of the Commissioners of Edinburgh on the resignation of his brother Sir James. He was chosen Dean of the Faculty of Advocates in 1695, was created a baronet in 1698, and the same year nominated President of the Court of Session—an office vacant since the death of his father in 1695. He represented the burgh of New Galloway in Parliament from 1696 to 1702, and North Berwick from 1703 till the Union, of which he was a steady supporter. In 1713 he was much annoyed by the claims of Chancellor Seafield, and absented himself from the House. In 1726 he went to London in order to obtain permission to resign with a pension for life equal to his salary, and also to procure the appointment of an ordinary lord for his son. Sir Robert Walpole opposed giving him a pension on his demission as being a bad precedent, and (according to Wodrow) the answer to his application was, "that the King was so well pleased with his services as President, that he could not want him at the head of that society." "This," the same author observes "(as the English speak), is a being kicked upstairs." He retained his office till his death, which took place on the 1st of February 1737, in the eighty-fifth year of his age.

He was described as "one of the best of Presidents" and one "of the compleatest lawyers in Scotland," "a very eloquent orator, smooth and slow in expression, with a clear understanding, but grave in his manner." Lord Woodhouselee says:[2] "If he inherited not the distinguished talents of his father, the Viscount of Stair, and his elder brother the

[1] See p. 231.

[2] Tytler's *Life of Kames*, i. 30.

Secretary, he was free from that turbulent ambition and crafty policy which marked the characters of both; and, with sufficient knowledge of the law, was a man of unimpeached integrity, and of great private worth and amiable manners." He collected the decisions of the Court of Session from 1698 to 1720.[1]

Bell-Ringer.

31*st October* 1705.—Daniell Ferrier, Burgess of Edinburgh, appointed Ringer of the Tron Kirk bell in succession to the deceased Master Bernard Nimmo.

The following is a reference to the Tron in August 1705, and is of some interest:—

"The Nobility generally resort to the Tron Church, *which is the principall*, and the Lord High Commissioner[2] has a Throne erected in it, in a very spatious Gallery, on his right hand sits the Lord Chancellor, and on his left the Lord Provost of Edenborough. On one side the Church is another remarkable Gallery, call'd the Stoole of Repentance, but in the Scotch churches are no Chancells or Altars."[3]

The visitor heard a debate in the Scottish Parliament "about the Act for a Treaty with England," and thus describes the High Commissioner's drive to Parliament on the week-day and to the Tron on the Sunday. It is a picture of Scottish pageantry in the last days of the Scottish Parliament: "The Queen being absent, deputes some nobleman to be Lord High Commissioner, who at this time was the Duke

[1] Brunton and Haig's *Senators of the College of Justice*, pp. 465–468.

[2] This was John, second Duke of Argyll (1678–1743), who succeeded his father in 1703. In 1705, being nominated High Commissioner to the Parliament of Scotland, he left London and arrived at Edinburgh on 24th April; he was the same day met at Edgebucklin brae by the principal nobility and gentry, with forty coaches and 600 horses, and by them escorted to Edinburgh, where he was received with every demonstration of joy. He opened Parliament on 28th June, with a speech recommending the settling the succession in the Protestant line and a treaty of union with England. He carried through the "Act for a Treaty with England" by which the Queen was empowered to appoint Commissioners for England concerning a Union with the two kingdoms. He was made a peer of England by the titles of Earl of Greenwich and Baron of Chatham, 26th November 1705. After military service abroad, he returned to Scotland and gave active assistance in carrying the Treaty of Union through the last Scottish Parliament. While his zeal for the Union made him less popular, his rectitude was unquestioned.

[3] *A Journey to Edenborough*, by Joseph Taylor, late of the Inner Temple, Esq., p. 106.

of Argyle. He resides at the Palace of Holyrood and is attended with as much State as a Prince, the Queen allows him 50*l* a day sterling for his Table, at which most of the Members of Parliament are constant. We saw him go to the Parliament house in this manner, First a Coach and six horses for his Gentlemen, then a Trumpet, Then his own Coach with six white horses, which were very fine, being those presented by King William to the Duke of Queensbury, and by him sold to the Duke of Argyle, as we were informed, for 300*l*. Next goes a Troop of Horse Guards, cloath'd like my Lord of Oxford's Regiment, but the horses are of severall colours, and the Lord Chief Justice Clerk, and other officers of State close the Cavalcade in Coaches and six horses. Then the Commissioner goes and returns every day *and also goes in the same manner to Church.* In the midle of the high street is a Guard house[1] for the City train'd bands, who are every day on duty, and when the Lord high Commissioner comes by, they beat their Drums and stand to their Arms to salute him."[2]

Commissioner.

15*th March* 1706.—Mr. George Meldrum, Professor of Divinity in the College of Edinburgh, appointed Commissioner to represent the said College at the ensuing General Assembly.

Morning Lecturer.

11*th September* 1706.—Mr. Alexander Irvine, one of the Lecturers in the Tron Church, having been called to be Minister of . . . . the Council appoints Mr. Thomas Davidson to be sole Lecturer and to receive the whole Salary of the Office.

The aged Tron Minister.

4*th June* 1707.—Representation by a Committee of Edinburgh Presbytery regarding The Reverend Mr. William Crichton, "one of the Ministers of the Tron Kirk, who had demitted his charge as Minister there But it was the opinion of the Presbytery he should still be looked upon as one of the Ministers of Edinburgh although from his great age and valitudinary state of health he was excused from the exercise of that charge And the Presbytery recommended

[1] Demolished in 1785.

[2] *A Journey to Edenborough*, etc., pp. 111, 112.

to the Council to give him a Token of their respects during life and thereby signifie their inclinations to continue his relation to them."

Token of Respect.

16*th July* 1707.—As a mark of respect to Mr. William Crichton, Tron Kirk Minister, for the "vigilance prudence piety and zeal" with which he performed his ministerial duties while free from sickness and infirmity, the Council grant him a yearly allowance of 1000 merks Scots.

Dr. Wishart's Appointment.

1*st October* 1707.—William Wiseheart, Minister of South Leith, appointed Colleague to Mr. George Meldrum, Minister in the Tron Kirk.

Beadle.

15*th June* 1709.—William Halliday, Beadle in the College Kirk, appointed Beadle in the Tron.

New Lofts and Lights.

29*th June* 1711.—Committee appointed to consult with tradesmen about building new lofts and making new lights in the Tron Kirk.

Morning Preacher.

21*st November* 1712.—Mr. Walter Smith appointed to preach and pray in the Tron Kirk conform to Mr. David M^{c}alla's Mortification.

26*th November* 1712.—Treasurer to pay Mr. William Brown, late Lecturer in the Tron Kirk, his quarter's salary from Whitsunday to Lambas.

Shops to be removed.

10*th September* 1718.—The possessors of the little timber shops about the Tron Kirk ordered to remove at Whitsunday next so that the shops may be demolished "for the Beautifieing of the said Tron Kirk and making one or two Entries thereto."

Mission in Skinner's Hall.

4*th December* 1719.—Mr. William Wiseheart and Mr. John Breaden, Probationers, elected to supply "the Audittorie in the Skinner's Hall now vacant through the decease of Mr. Joseph Foord, late preacher of the Gospell there," at an annual salary of 500 merks Scots each.

Provost's Seat.

3*rd June* 1720.—John Campbell, Esq., Lord Provost, to occupy the Seat in the Tron church formerly possessed by Francis

Montgomrie of Giffen and John Lauder Deacon Convener to possess the seat in said Church vacated by the Lord Provost.

7th November 1722.—The City divided into nine parishes and the South East or Tron Kirk Parish to consist of the following bounds, viz. :—"From Tron Kirk Marlins Wynd and dounwards all Closses and Buildings fronting the high Street to the Netherbowgaite South side except Grays Closs Being the present Bounding and Extent of the parish deduceing for Peebles Wynd 309 Land at head of it 32 and Grays Closs 109. Totall 2557." Tron Parish.

4th December 1723.—The Magistrates and Deacon Convener to consider the state of the Tron, and other Kirks, and to endeavour to accommodate such as are applying for seats in the said Kirks. Applicants for Seats.

25th July 1725.—The Council remits "the Petition from the Heritors about the Tron" to a Committee for their Report. Heritors and Tron.

1st September 1725.—Remit to a Committee "to bring in ane Scheme for Moduling and Repairing the Tron Church." Alterations.

15th July 1724.—Matthew M^cEwen, Tailor, Burgess, appointed Ringer of the Bells in the Tron Church Steeple and Keeper of the Clock there in place of the deceased Daniel Ferrier, at a Salary of £20 Scots quarterly. Bell-Ringer.

21st July 1725.—The Treasurer ordered to "pay to Patrick Gordon, Watchmaker, seventy five pounds sterling for ane eight day clock furnished be him to the Tron Kirk Steeple and that upon the Dean of Gild giving a Certificate that the said clock goes Regularly." New Tron Clock.

5th April 1727.—A Committee appointed to "consider the state. of the Tron Church and to bring in ane Report what is necessary to be done therewith." State of Tron.

23rd August 1728.—Alexander Hay, Smith, Burgess, appointed Ringer of the Bells in the Tron Kirk Steeple in place of the abovenamed Matthew M^cEwen and at same salary. Ringer.

Slates. 23*rd July* 1729.—The Council recommends the Dean of Guild to cause take off the Lead and cover the roof of the Tron Church with Skellie as it is "veray Insufficient and the late rains had abuised severall persons of distinction when in the Church on Sabbath the . . . Instant."

Tron Bells. 10*th December* 1729.—James Nimmo, Dean of Guild, recommended "to cause inspect the Bells in the Tron Stiple and to cause take doun the Bells that are in hazard of falling and put them up again."

Deceased Ministers. 18*th March* 1730.—The City Treasurer "to pay to the Representatives of Mr. W^m^ Wiseheart and Mr. James Heart Late Ministers of the Gospell in this Citie the current half years stipend in which they died viz. :—from Whitsunday Last to Mertimas also Last past."

Rev. George Wishart's Settlement. 10*th June* 1730.—The Council concur in the Settlement of the Rev. George Wiseheart as one of the Ministers of the Tron Church.

22*nd July* 1730.—Authority given to the Treasurer to entertain the Presbytery of Edinburgh on the 23rd Instant being the occasion of the settlement of the beforenamed Rev. George Wiseheart and two other Ministers of the City.

Improvements. 3*rd February* 1731.—Bailie Dick and Dean of Guild Osburn to visit and Report what improvements can be made upon the Tron Kirk.

Clock Keeper. 5*th May* 1731.—The Treasurer to pay £3, 1s. 6d. Stg. to Patrick Gordon, Watchmaker, for keeping the Tron Church Clock, although not ordered to attend to it, and also to pay him £3 Stg. yearly for keeping the said Clock six years at and preceding Whitsunday 1731.

Steeple Roof. 19*th May* 1731.—The Dean of Guild ordered to have the Tron Kirk Steeple repaired and the roof painted with oil colour.

Cleaning and Painting. 14*th July* 1731.—The Council delays the consideration of an Estimate, amounting to £53 Stg. by Roderick Chalmers and

James Norie for cleaning and painting the Tron Church and an Estimate by Thomas Dunlop of the expense of scaffolding necessary thereto amounting to £16, 11s. 8d. Stg.

28*th July* 1731.—The Dean of Guild instructed to proceed with the cleaning and painting of the roof of the Tron Kirk—the cost not to exceed Estimates made. Roof.

25*th August* 1731.—The Council agrees "to cover the syms of the sarking in the Tron Kirk with small spars." Repairs.

3*rd May* 1732.—The City Treasurer ordered to pay Hugh Barclay, Watchmaker, an Account, amounting to £2, 8s. Stg., from 6th to 17th July 1731, for mending the Clock in the Tron Kirk Steeple. Clock Mending.

29*th November* 1732.—"The Tron Church to be railed in the fore part thereof next to the street." Railing.

24*th October* 1733.—The Council "considering that Charles Butter, Wright, is a loser in not getting allowance for timber and workmanship in cutting out the palling by order of the Council designed to be put up before the Doors of the Tron Kirk opposite to the high Street which was not executed and which stands an article blank and unrated in his Acct. Therefore to make up that Loss do allow him dureing the Councils pleasure the Employment of taking down and putting up the Seats in the Tron Kirk, That are Removed upon the Occasion of the Sacrament for which he is to have the annual allowance payable by the Dean of Gild for the time being." Compensation.

13*th September* 1734.—Mr. David Paterson, Preacher of the Gospel, appointed to the Office of Lecturer and Preacher in the Tron Kirk conform to Mr. David M^cCall's Mortification and in succession to Mr. Walter Smith, Lecturer in said Kirk, who has demitted office on account of his age and being valetudinary. Mr. Walter Smith receiving the whole salary annexed to the Office during his lifetime as also the current half year's Salary the time Morning Lecturer.

of his decease and Mr. David Paterson to receive the annual rent of 1800 merks Scots from and after Mr. Walter Smith's decease.

Clock Keeper.

3rd September 1735.—£20 Sterling ordered to be paid to Hugh Barclay, Clockmaker, for taking care of the Tron Church Clock for four years preceding Whitsunday last and £5 Stg. to be paid to him yearly for the foresaid service in time coming.

Elders' Seat, and Baptism Room.

25*th February* 1736.—The Council "ordered that the Elders Seat in the Tron Church be enlarged by adding to it the Seat possest by the Reverend Mr. Wisheart and that the Baptism Room be changed into a Seat for Mr. Wisheart, and that the area or Entry to the pulpit be changed into a Baptism Room, so as the Entry to the pulpit be saved."

Rescinding Acts.

7th April 1736.—The Council rescind their Act of 23 Augt. 1728 appointing Alexander Hay, Ringer of the Tron Kirk Bells.

Rescinding Acts.

31*st August* 1737.—The Council rescind their Act of 13th Decr. 1734, appointing Mr. David Paterson Lecturer in the Tron Church, because of his being "disabled from exercising that office by the Presbytery of Edinburgh who for misdemanners have taken his Licence from him."

Morning Lecturer.

14*th September* 1737.—Mr. James Hog, Preacher of the Gospel, appointed Lecturer in the Tron Church conform to Mr. David M^{c}Caull's Mortification and to receive a Salary of £20 Stg. per annum reserving to Mr. Walter Smith, late Lecturer in the Tron, during his lifetime, the sum of £30 Stg. per annum—Mr. Hog after the decease of Mr. Smith to receive the ordinary annual rent of the principal sum of 1800 merks during his incumbency in the said Office.

Morning Lecturer.

14*th March* 1739.—Order to be made out for paying Mr. James Hog, Lecturer in the Tron Church, the sum of £15 Sterling as the balauce of £25 Stg. whereto he is preferred by a Decreet of the Lords of Session dated 16th February last.

Morning Lecturer.

6*th April* 1743.—Signed order on the Royal Bank for £50

Stg. as payment of one year's Salary, due preceding Candlemas last, to Mr. James Hog, Lecturer in the Tron Church, which order is "to be issued on getting a proper discharge from Mr. Hog and his Creditors, who had effected the same by arrestment or otherwise."[1]

21*st March* 1744.—The Council approve of a Report of the Public Works Committee—"That they having visited the area before the Tron Church are of oppinion that the two side doors should be enclosed with Lettice Doors and Likewise the pillars that are adjoining ought to be enclosed with a Raill and that Deacon Herriot should give in an estimate of the expense of said work." Lettice Doors, Rails, etc.

25*th April* 1744.—The Council translates Doctor William Wishart,[2] Principal of Edinburgh College, from the New Greyfriars Kirk to the Collegiate charge in the Tron Kirk, vacant by the death of the Rev. Mr. Mathew Wood, agreeably to a petition to them by the Session of the Tron Kirk Parish. Principal Wishart.

12*th August* 1747.—Treasurer authorised to pay to the widow of the late Rev. Mathew Wood (Tron) the sum of 1250 merks Scots being the half years stipend due at Whitsunday 1742 and for which amount she obtained Decreet before the Lords of Council and Session against the Magistrates and Council. Widow and Stipend.

14*th September* 1748.—£49, 14s. 5⅓d. Stg. to be paid to Doctor William Wishart, Principal of the College and one of the Ministers of the Tron Church, as arrears of Stipend due to him preceding the term of Whitsunday last. Stipend.

27*th January* 1748.—John Burd, weaver, appointed Ringer of the Good Town's bells in the Tron Steeple, as successor to the deceased Alexander Hay. Bell-Ringer.

1*st November* 1749.—Committee to bring in a Report with Estimate of Cost "of Railling in the voids betwixt the Butteresses att the front of the Trone Church for preventing all manner of nastiness therefrom." Railing.

[1] See pp. 167, 251, 256.

[2] See pp. 167, 196.

Railing.

14*th March* 1750.—The Council approve of a Report by a Committee as to railing in the front, and open space at the back door of the Tron Church to prevent the accumulation of filth there, or alternatively the building of three shops, "To witt one in the Void to the Westward of the Westmost side Door in the front, Another in the Void to the Eastward of the Eastmost Door And the Third in that piece of Waste in Marlines Wynd to the South of the stair of the back entry to that Church Were of opinion after considering both these ways That it will be more effectual That the Town build the Three shops as above-mentioned Because then there wont be a space for the nastiness as now And the possessors of them for their own Intrest will be as so many keepers to prevent nastiness in the front of the Church in time comeing But to make this if possible more Effectuall They were of opinion that the two side Doors ought to have timber pail'd door to open in the middle and to hing in a straight Line with the front of the Shops whereby all access to these voids will be debarred except in time of Divine Worship."

The expense not to exceed £90 Sterling.

Shops at Tron.

28*th March* 1750.—The Council orders the shops at the back of the Tron within Marlines Wynd to be built in terms of the foregoing Report and to have "ane Estimat of the expense of enrailling the whole front of the Church with Yettling Ballisters."

Allocation.

20*th February* 1751.—The Hon. John Maule, one of the Barons of Exchequer, gets the Seat formerly occupied by Mr. Charles Maitland of Pitrichie.

Morning Lecturer.

20*th February* 1751.—Order signed, on the Royal Bank, for paying to the Creditors of Mr. James Hog, Lecturer in the Tron Church, the sum of £21 Stg. in part of the bygone Salary due to Mr. Hog.

Morning Lecturer.

12*th June* 1752.—Arrestment by Jean Wright, relict of Robert Bell, Merchant, on account of £8, 6s. 8d. and interest thereon due to her by the above named Mr. James Hog.

29*th July* 1752.—"The Dyell Broads on the high steeple and Trone Church to be of new painted and repaired at the sight of the Dean of Gild." Dial Boards.

12*th September* 1753.—Mr. James Hog's Salary as Morning Lecturer in the Tron Church ordered to be paid to William Hallowell, Chaplain in the Charity Workhouse, one of the creditors and Factor for the said Mr. James Hog. Morning Lecturer.

30*th October* 1754.—"A number of aged and infirm Inhabitants having signified to the Ministers of the City that it would be very acceptable to them if the weekly sermons on Fridays should begin at ten in place of nine o'clock of the morning from 1st Novr. to 1st March and that the audience would likely thereby be considerably increased," the Council authorises this change to be made. Weekly Sermon Hour changed.

30*th March* 1757.—"After making repeated Trials of the proficiency of the several Precentors of this City in learning Church Music under Mr. Gibson's care," the Council disqualifies . . . Barker, Precentor in the Tron Church and four others and elects . . . Gardner to be Precentor in the Tron and others to fill the places of those discharged, Mr. Gibson to continue teaching the Precentors and holding classes for the improvement of Church Music. Council and Improvement of Church Psalmody.

> "Ecclesiastical matters," says Mr. Reid, "always commanded an extra amount of civic attention. . . . Nor need this occasion surprise when it is recollected that minister, beadle and precentor alike owe their appointments to this august body. In prosecution of a scheme for psalmody improvement, the Council engaged a Durham musician (evidently Mr. Gibson), 'well skilled in theory and practice,' to teach gratuitously in seven schools not only beginners, but the staid precentors themselves. The scheme grew until 1781, when it reached the stage at which a choir dispute developed—the earliest recorded in local history. Discontentment broke out in the 'Tron Bass Club' as it was called, and the precentor kept his singers together only 'with much

difficulty and at great expense.' The club consisted of fifteen or sixteen performers, who grumbled at their inadequate pay compared with that of the Bass Club of Old Greyfriars' Church. Fortunately by raising the quarter's salary from 20s. to 30s. harmony was speedily restored."[1]

The *Edinburgh Courier* adds of this period, "In one of our churches in this city they have now begun to sing every Sunday without reading a line."

Repairs.

29*th June* 1757.—As it is expected that the Tron Church will soon need to be shut up in order to execute necessary repairs the Council recommends that meantime the Ministers of the Tron should officiate in the College Church it having now been fully repaired.

Repairs.

27*th July* 1757.—A Committee appointed to execute a formal Agreement with Mr. Howieson, wright, for altering and reseating the Tron Church at a cost of £285 Stg. by which improvements it is thought an additional value of Seats in the Church of £40 or £50 per annum will be produced.

Town's Patrimony for Repairs on Tron.

14*th September* 1757.—£270, 4s. $7\frac{6}{12}$d. paid by George Lindsay, Depute Town Clerk, as half of the price of part of the Lands of St. Leonards, to be employed in defraying the Cost of repairing and improving the Tron Church.

19*th October* 1757.—"Dean of Gild Rochead from the Committee appointed to oversee the repairing of the Trone Church Reported

Tron Gallery.

(First) That the Front of the Gallery of the said Church be painted and the Breast of it covered with a narrow green Cloath and Fringe in place of Carpets which have been long and justly complained of as a nusance And that each of the Front Seats be decently stuffed and

Painting and Covering Seats with green Cloth.

covered with green Cloath. (Secondly) That in order to defray the expense thereof the Council by an Act should impower Deacon Howieson to undertake the above articles of painting and covering the Seats with green Cloath And declaring that it is their resolution that all persons who shall take front seats shall pay to Mr. James

[1] *New Lights on Old Edinburgh*, pp. 134, 135.

Ramsay their respective share of the foresaid repairs in proportion to the measure of their seat and that Mr. Ramsay be required not to grant any Discharge of their seat rent till they have paid to him their said proportion of the Expense of these repairs. (Thirdly) That no person shall take upon themselves to make any alteration in any of the seats of the Church whatever till he has applied to the Council and obtained an Act from them empowering him to do so And that no alteration shall be made but in such manner as the Council shall direct And by the said Act the Council ought likewise expressly to prohibit the hanging over of Carpets or Mourning Cloaths on any seat of the Church. (Fourthly) That in order to prevent giving offence and encouraging the taking of the back seats in the Galleries it will be proper that the Council resolve that no seats shall be set to Liverymen and Gentlemen's Servants except those that are furthest back and nearest the walls. (Fifthly) The Committee are also of opinion that it would tend greatly to facilitate the setting of all the seats and prevent a great deal of trouble to the Council if previous to the setting of the seats the said Committee were authorised by the Council to prepare a distinct plan containing the number of the seats and the value of each of them And likewise that the said Committee be directed to prepare and lay before the Council a plan to keep the Church clean in all time coming."

Regulations as to Seats.

Liverymen and Gentlemen's Servants to take back Seats!

Plan of Seats.

About this period, the seat-letting system aroused great dissatisfaction, personal animosities being engendered by unscrupulous persons who used their influence to obtain the seats of less vigilant neighbours. Says Mr. Reid: "Mr. Steuart Barclay of Collerney, who resided in Carrubber's Close, seems to have been one of these victims. He 'had looked upon himself as sure of a seat in the Tron Church when Baron Norton slipped in and deprived him of it.' Lady Grant[1] had still more cause for annoyance. 'The Tron Church,' said she, 'was the most commodious for one in her time of life to walk to, her house being within the head of Blackfriars Wynd.' But this circumstance had been

[1] See p. 302.

deemed of no account, for 'upon returning from a visit to a friend at a distance she was surprised to find that the seat had been disposed of, to another during her absence.' . . . The application by John Robertson, Professor of Natural Philosophy, is a somewhat lengthy document. He had given up his seat in Greyfriars on account of its inconvenient distance from his house, and asked for another in the Tron. 'He flattered himself the Council would be disposed to grant him this favour, as they were sensible by so doing they would put it now in his power to answer their intention in calling him into their University.'"[1]

Communion Tables.

1*st November* 1758.—The Dean of Guild recommended to employ Deacon William Reoch to take down and put up the Seats in the Tron Church at the time of the Sacrament in place of Charles Butter, wright.

Repairs.

9*th May* 1759.—It being reported "that the Seams between the stones of the Tron Kirk Steeple were much in disrepair and needed to be scratched" the Council authorised the same to be done.

Poultry Market.

20*th June* 1759.—The Dean of Guild reports having visited the Poultry Market when he "found that the walls in the back part of the Trone Kirk towards that Market were extremly hungary and that the walls thereof should be immediately harled." The Council authorise the walls in the back part of the kirk towards that market to be harled "in the most sufficient and frugalist manner without loss of time."

Tron Bell.

24*th October* 1764.—The Petition of Alexander Brown, Founder, relative to his claim for repairing the Tron Church Bell, remitted to the present and Old Dean of Guild.

Cupola recommended by Mr. Adams, the distinguished Edinburgh Architect.

4*th September* 1765.—On Representation from the Tron Kirk Session "that the Skyelights in the roof of the said Church were in a ruinous condition," with a Report by the Dean of Guild and his Council "that it would be a great Improvement to have an Octagon

[1] *New Lights on Old Edinburgh*, pp. 135–138.

Cupiloe in the Center of the Roof which would diffuse a much greater light than comes from the two Skyelights" and as certified by "John Adams, Architect, that a Cupiloe would be both useful and ornamental and the best method of any other for encreasing the light," the Council appoint John Young, wright, to execute this work conform to his Estimate amounting to £41, 11s. 1d.

4th February 1767.—"Resolved that on Thursday next at 12 o'clock the Revd. Ministers of this City be called together in the laich Council house that they may have notice to assemble their respective Kirk Sessions in order to their makeing out Leets for chooseing one to be a Minister in this City for supplying the Vacancy by the decease of Dr. John Jardine so as these Leets may be delivered to the Lord Provost and Magistrates to be laid before the Council." Elders of the City Churches to draw up Leet for Tron Kirk.

18th March 1767.—Upon a Petition from the Tron Church Session the Council agree to translate the Revd. Dr. John Drysdale from Lady Yester's Church to the Collegiate Church in the Tron Church as Colleague to the Revd. Dr. George Wishart. Dr. Drysdale's Translation.

10th June 1767.—The Dean of Guild recommended to prepare an Estimate of the expense of repairing "the Rooff of the Isle of the Trone Kirk which is very much out of order and stands in need of immediate Repair." Roof of Aisle.

17th June 1767.—The Council authorise "the repairing of the Rooff of the Isle of the Tron Church, viz.:—The rooffing and sarking including scaffolding and takeing down the old rooff amounting to £11, 10s. And the Estimate of the Slaiter work after makeing allowance for the old Scallie £5, 5s.—In all £16, 15s." Aisle Roof.

20th April 1768.—Presented by the Dean of Guild "Estimate of the expense of Lead Work necessary for Repairing the Trone Church Steeple amounting to £12, 8s. 8d. Stg. The Council authorise the work to be done. Steeple.

17th June 1772.—Mr. James Hog,[1] Morning Lecturer in the Lecturer's Salary.

[1] See p. 167.

Tron Church, having died upon the 29th October last the Council order that £12, 3s. 10d., due to him as Salary from 1st August to 29th October 1771, be now paid to Samuel Brown, Watchmaker, Edinburgh, his Executor.

Appointment.

5th August 1772.—Presentation in favour of Mr. John Traill late Minister of the Gospel in the Dissenting Congregation at Chelsea, as Morning Lecturer in the Tron Church in terms of Mr. David M^c^Call's Mortification and in succession to the deceased Mr. Jas. Hog.

Bell-Ringer.

7th October 1772.—James Newton, Burgess and Freeman Weaver in Edinburgh, appointed Ringer of the Tron Church Bells in succession to the deceased John Burd.

Morning Lecturer.

2nd March 1774.—Presentation to the Revd. Robert Henry, one of the Ministers of Edinburgh, as Morning Lecturer in the Tron Church in terms of Mr. David M^c^Call's Mortifications and in succession to the deceased Mr. John Trail.

Repair of Clock.

23rd October 1782.—The Council accept of a proposal by Normand M^c^Pherson, Clock and Watchmaker, Edinburgh, to put the Clock of the Tron Church into proper repair and uphold the same for twelve years at a cost of £15 Sterling.

Varnishing and Whitewashing.

30th April 1783.—The Tron Church to be Whitewashed and Varnished, etc. by William Sommervile, Painter, at a cost of £18, 9s. 7d., and "intimation to be made to the Ministers and Kirk Session that it is expected care will be taken to keep the Kirk clean in time coming."

Roof.

3rd September 1783.—John Ritchie, Slater, Edinburgh, ordered to repair the South side of the roof of the Tron Church at a cost of £12, 5s. Sterling.

The following chiefly relate to the formation of the South Bridge, and the consequent structural changes in the Tron.

PROPOSED PERSPECTIVE VIEW OF SOUTH BRIDGE AND HUNTER'S SQUARE, 1787.

22nd June 1785.—A Committee appointed to treat with the Trustees for building a Bridge over the Cowgate regarding certain houses and areas between Niddrys and Marlins Wynds and on the South side of the Cowgate of which the Council are Owners and Occupiers. Formation of South Bridge, by which part of the Tron is taken away.

14th September 1785.—The Council agrees to sell to the above-named Trustees for the sum of £500 Stg. The area between Niddrys and Marlins Wynds occupied by the Green Market, and the area fronting the Cowgate lately the Fishmarket. Selling of Area.

19th October 1785.—A Committee proposed to be appointed for determining how much the High Street shall be lowered at the entry to the North Bridge and at the Tron Church. Lowering of High Street.

21st October 1785.—Committee appointed to lay before the Presbytery of Edinburgh the Presentation in favor of the Revd. Dr. Andrew Hunter to be one of the Ministers of the Tron Kirk, vacant by the death of Dr. George Wisheart, together with his Letter of Acceptance. Presentation to Dr. Andrew Hunter.

28th November 1787.—William Nimmo, freeman Weaver and Burgess of Edinburgh, appointed Ringer of the Bells in the Tron Church Steeple vacant by the death of John Newton. Bell-Ringer.

28th November 1787.—"It being represented that in removing the old Buildings to the east of the Tron Church, the roof had been off the toofall which was used as a Session house to that Church so that the boys climbed up to the Bartisan and stole the lead, and that Francis Broadwood was willing to take down the walls and remove the Rubbish he getting the stones to himself—Authorized Francis Broadwood to take down what remained of the Session house." Boys stealing Lead from Tron.

3rd June 1788.—"The Lord Provost produced in Council an Elevation or design by John Baxter, Architect, for improving the Tron Church, which his Lordship at same time informed had been much approved of by the Trustees for building a Bridge over the Design for improving Tron Kirk.

Building of Bridge over the Cowgate.

Cowgate who had agreed to pay one half of the Expenses—Which Elevation or Design having been considered of by the Council was approved of by them And ordered an Advertisement to be inserted in the Edinburgh Newspapers for Estimates of the Expense to be given in between and the twenty-third day of June instant."

Rebuilding of Walls of Church, demolished by formation of South Bridge.

11*th July* 1788.—The Lord Provost from the Magistrates old Magistrates and Convener to whom the different Estimates given in for improving the Tron Church was remitted, reported that they had transmitted these Estimates to John Baxter, Architect, and a Sub-Committee having met with a Committee of the Trustees for building a Bridge over the Cowgate All Agreed that the Estimate given in by William Jameson, Mason, was the cheapest and which

Estimates.

is of the following tenor:—Estimate of the Expense of taking down and rebuilding the walls of the Tron Church conform to Advertisement of date the seventh of June current as under specified—To Mason Work taking down and rebuilding the East, South and West Walls of the Church the walls to be three feet thick with best ruble Work and the Hewen Work in Pilasters Architraves and other ornaments to be of the best stone from Craigleith, Maiden Craig, Ravelstone or Cray Crook Quarrys or other stone of equall good quality, Digging the Ground and underbuilding the North Wall furnishing Aisler, Palisters and stone steps for ditto of said quality and dressing up the Front Agreeable to the Plan Elevation and Section exhibited by Mr. Robert Kay—building Two hanging Stairs leading to the Galleries—Digging and building the Walls and carrying up a vent furnishing a plain chimney piece and Hearth stone for the Session house Digging and levelling the ground and laying hewen Craigleith Stone Pavement in the front of the Church Carting away all the Rubbish—£1150, 1s. 10d.

Glasier Work.

"Glasier Work—To filling up all the Windows with Glass of the best kind framed in lead the middle divisions being of Stone agreeable to the Elevation—£66, 10s. 4d.

Carpenters' Work.

"Carpenters Work—To flooring, joisting, lathing and plaistering

in the Session house—Plaistering all the Walls within—With Doors, hinges and Locks to the Session house, Mahogany hand railes with Iron Balasters for the two hanging Stairs—£53, 1s. 3d.

"The old materials in Walls, Roof of Session house, etc. will be sustained as equivalent to cutting the Rooff and other incidental expences. Old Materials.

"If the East, South and West Walls are to be faced with Hewen Aisler the Expence will amount to £287, 16s. Total amount of Estimate—£1557, 9s. 5d. Expenses.

"(Signed) William Jameson."

"Note of different Articles for making out an Estimate for the alterations intended to be made on the Tron Church according to the Plans and Elevations made for that purpose—Rubble Work in the whole building, East and West Gables to be founded at least three feet below the line of the Street and Ashler Work to commence one foot below the Surface pavement, both in New Work, and what is to be underbuilt. Note of different Articles.

"Droved Work—Ashler in East and West Gables, and break on South front.

"Plinths and Dyes of Pedestals, and Freize of Pilaster Upper Beds of Baiking Skews and Baiking Cornices.

"Eleven Obelisks.

"Blocking Course in Front.

"Stair leading to the Session room with Jambs and hearth to ditto.

"Mouldings.

"Pilasters Panneled and flutted with Moundings on ditto.

"Architraves on Windows and Cornices on ditto.

"Cornice on South front and pediment and pedestal Mouldings.

"Skews on East and West Gables and pediment Cornices on ditto Gables.

"Inside hanging Stairs polished, outer ditto droved—Eleven Jonick Capitals stone Moulding on internal pillars of Windows—

Session Room vent-Brotched pavement and Curb round the Kirk—Rough Arches over inside of Windows—Digging and removing Earth and Rock from the foundations, and in front of the Church.

"Mahoganie hand rail for inside stair with wrought Iron Ballasters one Inch Square and Three feet six inches high Lead Windows with Crown Glass and Cross Iron Barrs—Flooring and Joisting the Session house and the part of the Church over ditto—Base and Surbase Mouldings in Session room Bound outer and Inside doors with Locks and hinges Bound Windows Shutters Lath and Standarts on Session Room Walls with Three Coat plaister.

"Three Coat plaister on South Breaking and on East and West Gables.

"Giblet Checks and Facings.

"Roofing and Sarking.

"Lead Gutters and Flankers with four rain water pipes.

"*N.B.*—It is understood that all the Hewing stone is to be laid on their natural Beds from whatever quarry it may be agreed to by the Undertaker. (Signed) JOHN BAXTER. Edinr., 7th July 1788."

William Jameson adds other £80 Stg. to his estimate for laying pavement along the South front and East and West Gables and for four lead Water pipes not included in his first Estimate and the Council appoint a Committee to meet with a Committee to be named by the Trustees for the South Bridge to adjust the Contract to be entered into with the said William Jameson.

Contract. *16th July* 1788.—The Dean of Guild authorised to sign Contract with William Jameson, mason, for alterations on Tron Church.

Presentation. *25th February* 1789.—Presentation to the Revd. William Simpson, Minister of Lady Yester's Church to be Minister of the Tron.

Masons' Estimate. *25th February* 1789.—Agreed to an Estimate by William Jameson, Mason, amounting to £93, 1s. 3d., of which the South Bridge Trustees are to pay one half, "for facing up the space

betwixt the middle breaking and the pillasters of the South Gavel of the Tron Church, Of sloping the Old Wall inserting band Aisler and building the New Aisler Wall, and of Mason, Plumber and Slater Work in taking down the lead, parapet wall and Ballistrade above it upon both sides of the Steeple in the North front, Altering the Gutter and laying Architrave Freeze And Cornish with a blocking course of Aisler of Craigleith stone not contained in the Contract amounting to £93, 1s. 3d. To which is subjoined an Estimate of the Expence of pointing all the Beds and Joints of the old Aisler and drawing and putting in new ones where the old Aisler is wasted, Cleaning and painting the whole of the Steeple, and North front of the same colour with the new work in Oil."

The Council remits the latter Estimate to a Committee.

South Bridge Trustees.

4th March 1789.—The Council agree to the Work, Estimated above, being executed on condition that the South Bridge Trustees pay Eleven guineas.

Painting.

1st July 1789.—The Council authorise John Donaldson to paint the Ballasters and wood work on the top of the Steeple and Cupola of the Tron Church as also the Lobby, Stair and Rails, etc. within the Church to the amount of £25, 18s. conform to his Estimate.

Covering Seats.

8th July 1789.—The Council approved of a Report on an Estimate by Young and Trotter for covering the Seats in the Tron Church amounting to £159, 1s. 3d. and ordered the work to be executed according to the Estimate, except the Seats occupied by the Judges amounting to £7 which is to be deducted.

Seats of Judges.

Clock Dials.

22nd July 1789.—John Donaldson authorised to gild and paint the Dials of the Clock of the Tron Church at an expense not exceeding £30, 9s. including the expense of taking down and putting up the Dials and any wright work that may be necessary.

Minute Hands to be added to Clock—evidently there were only Hour Hands previously.

12th August 1789.—"The Lord Provost represented that it was generally thought by persons of Skill that if the height of the Clock of the Tron Church was reduced it would give the Steeple of that Church a better effect And that Minute hands should be added to

the Clock All which would cost about £35 Sterling" and the Council authorised the alterations to be made.

Minute Hands to be added to Clock—evidently there were only Hour Hands previously.

14*th October* 1789.—The Council, on an "Estimate by Thomas Reid for repairing the Clock of Tron Church, authorized him to repair and put minute hands in the east and west ends of the Tron Church, the expence whereof not exceeding £45 the sum in the Estimate."

Rise of Seat Rents.

21*st October* 1789.—The Lord Provost and four others nominated as a Committee to consider of a proper rise of the Seats in the Tron Church.

Sunday Services.

24*th February* 1790.—The Council appointed the Bells for the Church to be continued to be rung as at present, viz. :—at a quarter before eleven in the forenoons and at two O'clock afternoons of the Sundays.

Stove for Session House.

8*th September* 1790.—The Council authorised payment of £2, 10s. 6d. to John Spottiswood for a stove furnished by him to the Session house.

Morning Lecturer.

16*th February* 1791.—Mr. Thomas Campbell, Preacher of the Gospel, appointed Lecturer in the Tron Church conform to Mr. David M^c^Call's Mortification.

Roof.

8*th February* 1792.—Part of the roof of the Tron Church to be repaired at the sight of the Dean of Guild.

Painting.

4*th July* 1792.—Walter Smiton & Coy. authorised to paint the Tron Church conform to Estimate at an Expense not exceeding £50 Sterling.

Morning Lecturer.

2*nd April* 1794.—Mr. Thomas Campbell having resigned the office of Morning Lecturer in the Tron Church Mr. Leslie Moodie is appointed in his stead.

Morning Lecturer.

30*th March* 1796.—Mr. James Clark, Preacher of the Gospel, appointed Morning Lecturer in the Tron Church in room of Mr. Leslie Moodie who is now settled as Minister of the Parish of Newton.

TRON CHURCH, HUNTER'S SQUARE, ETC., IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE FORMATION OF THE SOUTH BRIDGE.

6th February 1799.—On account of the Office of Morning Lecturer being partly supplied by Mr. Clerk and partly by Mr. Ritchie two Orders on the Royal Bank were granted to them—one for £16, 19s. 8d. and the other for £7, 10s. 8d. amounting in all to £24, 10s. 4d. Salaries.

4th September 1799.—The Tron Church to be repaired at an expense not exceeding £8 Stg. Repairs.

11th March 1801.—Mr. James Luke, Preacher, appointed Morning Lecturer in the Tron Church and upon the next vacancy occurring Mr. . . . Tough, Preacher, to be appointed as he has been warmly recommended by Mr. Lowis, the heir of Mr. David M^cCall, Mortifier of the Fund. Morning Lecturer.

22nd July 1801.—George Lewars appointed Precentor in the Tron Church as successor to the deceased John Dunsmure. Precentor.

20th April 1803.—Ebenezer Wilson,[1] Ringer of the Tron Church Bells, to be paid £2, 2s. for past services and 4s. Stg. per quarter in time coming. Bell-Ringer.

11th April 1804.—Mr. Robert Crawfurd, Preacher of the Gospel, appointed Morning Lecturer in the Tron Church on Mr. David Mackall's Mortification in room of Mr. James Luke now Minister of Greenlaw. Morning Lecturer.

21st January 1807.—A Committee appointed to confer with the Revd. Robert Crawfurd and Ninian Lowis Esq., heir of Mr. David M^cCall, anent action raised before the Court of Session at their instance against the Magistrates and Council. Legal Action.

18th January 1809.—Owing to the introduction of Stoves into the Churches and the risk of fire having thereby considerably increased the Dean of Guild proposes to have the Churches insured and the Seat rents to be raised to meet the expense of the Stoves. Introduction of Stoves and Insurance.

The Council directs "an additional charge of sixpence, to commence at Martinmas 1809, upon each bottom room of five shillings yearly Increase of Seat Rents.

[1] See p. 267.

rent and upwards in each of the following Churches, viz. :—St. Giles, Old Greyfriars and in any other Church in which stoves shall be in future erected. And authorised the chamberlain to make insurance of £2000 on each Church except the College which may be done at £1000; and St. Andrews at £3000."

Dr. Brunton. *6th September* 1809.—Presentation to the Revd. Alexander Brunton, Minister of New Greyfriars Church, to be one of the Ministers of the Tron Church in room of the Revd. Dr. Andrew Hunter.

Parapet and Railing. 17*th July* 1811.—Estimates to be got for a parapet and cast iron railing to surround the Tron Church to prevent nuisance owing to the walls being so much exposed.

Clock Dial. 10*th March* 1813.—The Town Council authorise the Dial and Hands of the Tron Church Time piece to be repaired at an expense of twelve guineas exclusive of the wright work.

Reseating of Church. 22*nd March* 1815.—The Town Council approve of a Report to have the Tron Church reseated, according to Plans by Mr. Crichton, Architect, at an expense not exceeding £1300 upon condition that the Tron Church Session advance the whole sum required and which sum shall be repaid to them by the City Chamberlain, with interest, at the rate of £400 per annum.

Estimates for Reseating Tron. 19*th April* 1815.—Mr. David White's Estimate for reseating the Tron Church at a cost of £1285, being the lowest, a Contract to be entered into with him for performing the work, the whole of which to be finished before 1st October next under a penalty of £100.

New Rental. 4*th October* 1815.—A Committee appointed to fix a new Rental for the Tron Church on completion of the improvements on the Church.

New Rental. 25*th October* 1815.—The Council approve of the new Rental of the Tron Church to be produced from 811 Sitters.

12th June 1816.—The Council authorise payment by bill of £400, including interest, as the first instalment towards the amount advanced by the Session of the Tron Church for repairs made on that Church. Repair Expenses.

2nd October 1816.—The Council grant the Petition of the Tron Kirk Session which shows "That the Tron Church is at present very inadequately heated during the winter and that many members of the congregation have intimated their resolution to desert the Church unless means can be devised for rendering it more comfortable The petitioners have seen drawings of Stoves erected at Arniston and found most efficient there and have taken the advice of Mr. Richard Crichton, Architect, under whose inspection the Tron Church was repaired, who is satisfied that one of these Stoves, which are constructed of brick, will cost about £30." Heating of Church.

23rd July 1817.—£75, 17s. 1¼d. authorised to be paid to David Whyte being balance of his account for reseating the Tron Church. Account.

1st April 1818.—Thomas Bonnar, Superintendent of Public Works, in reporting as to the state of the various Churches states "1st. Tron Church, the rain makes way through various places of the roof the greatest part of the slates, particularly on the south side is in so decayed a state as to give way and go to dust by handling and unfit to defend the timber of the roofing and keep out the rain. I have also tried the boarding in many places both outside and inside and find it beginning to decay, the inside quite sound, the rafters and a great part of the boarding is of oak, is new painted, and forms the ceiling. I am of opinion to make the roof watertight and preserve the roofing and boarding from rapid decay it would be necessary to Tirr the whole of the Slates and sheath over the old boarding with new ¾ inch deal, renew the south side with new slates and the north side with good slates picked from the whole, there are two broken glass panes in the Cupalo, one in the Steeple stair, and four in the Clock storey. The expence of all which I estimate as follows, viz. :— Tron Roof.

"Slaters work.

6½ roods tirring @ 5s.	£1	12	6
4½ roods new slating South side @ £7, 10s. . .	30	16	8
2½ roods labor and mortar only reslateing the North side @ 60s.	7	10	0
"Wright work.			
235 Yards new sarking @ 5s. . . .	58	15	0
"Glazier's work	0	16	0
	£99	10	2."

Precentor.

6th January 1819.—The Ministers and Session of the Tron Church petition the Council for a new Precentor, the former one having left the Country, and state that they have for several Sundays past been making trial of various candidates for the situation but find none of them suitable—They therefor request that the Salary attached to the office be increased to £30 p. annum, instead of £25, to enable them to engage one from Sheffield who is highly recommended.

Precentor.

13th January 1819.—Benjamin Gleadhill appointed Precentor of the Tron Church at a Salary of £30 per annum—the increase of Salary having been provided for by an addition to the Seat rents.

Rebinding of Books.

10th February 1819.—Messrs. Anderson and Macdowall to furnish two Psalm books for the use of the Tron Church Session and to rebind the present Bibles and Psalm Books.

Repaying of Expenses.

24th February 1819.—The Tron Church Session having during the past two years defrayed the expense of cleaning their Church, from their own funds, amounting to £18, 9s., the Council approves of that sum being repaid to them.

Copper Dials for St. Giles and Tron.

19th February 1819.—A Committee having inspected the Dial Plates of St. Giles and the Tron Church Steeples "are of opinion that they are so much decayed as to be unfit to be repaired and would therefore recommend to the Council to apply for Estimates for Copper Dials for these Churches which will not only be more

durable but will ultimately be cheaper—the Estimates to include the expense of painting and figuring the Dials and the scaffolding in putting them up."

9th June 1819.—The Dean of Guild reports that "A very fine large Bell hangs in the Tron Church Steeple which has never been rung" and the Council agrees to the necessary improvements being made so that the Bell can be used. Unused Bell in Tron Steeple.

6th October 1819.—Lauchlan Mackenzie appointed Beadle in the Tron Church. Beadle.

21st June 1820.—The Inhabitants, Merchants and others in the South Bridge and High Street having raised a sum sufficient to defray the expense of erecting a railing round the Tron Church, in order to prevent the offensive nuisance daily committed there, the Council agree to pay the cost of levelling and preparing the pavement around the Church for the reception of the railing. Merchants and Expense of Railing. Pavement.

2nd August 1820.—Deacon Paton's Estimate, amounting to £39, 14s. 3d. accepted for altering the pulpit and several seats in the under part of the Tron Church. Pulpit, etc.

11th October 1820.—Deacon Paton to alter the Elders' Seat in the Tron Church for the sum of £12, 18s. 2d. Elders' Seat.

30th April 1823.—The Edinr. Gas Light Coy. make offer to light one of the City Clocks free of expense, for the convenience of the Public, if the Council makes choice of the particular Clock that will be of most service and the Council resolves to light up the Dials of the Tron Church Clock where new Dials are now being placed. Edinburgh Gas Company's Offer accepted for Tron Dials.

3rd September 1823.—Charles Panter appointed Ringer of the Tron Church Bell in room of the deceased Ebenezer Wilson. Bell-Ringer.

> Ebenezer Wilson, long known as the Tron Church bellman, carried on business in a small way in his own account in Libberton's Wynd, but was never remarkable for activity or enterprize.

Eben was well known to the "Hie Schule laddies," by whom he was much annoyed. They called him "Ninepence," in allusion to his old-fashioned three-cornered hat. Almost every night a band of them assembled at the Tron door waiting his arrival; and although they had probably tormented him to the utmost during the day, they seldom failed to gain admission to assist in tolling the bell, and to amuse themselves by swinging on the rope. The laddies knew well the "weak side" of the bellman. It was no longer Ninepence, or even Eben, but "*Mr. Wilson*, will ye let us in to jow the bell?" "O yes," Eben would say, quite gratified with the respect shown him; "but see that ye behave yoursels." Mr. Wilson was in this way commonly saved the trouble of *jowing* the bell himself. Although in general very regular, Eben committed a sad mistake on one occasion, by tolling the curfew bell at seven o'clock, in place of eight. The shops were shut up, the streets were consigned to comparative darkness, when the clerks and schoolboys were delighted to find that they had gained an hour by his miscalculation. This occurrence afterwards proved a source of great vexation to him,—"It's seven o'clock, Eben, ring the bell!" being a frequent and irritating salutation on the part of the laddies. Every night as he came down the High Street, he was careful to look into the shop of Mr. Ramage (at the west end of the Old Tolbooth) in order, by a peep at the watchmaker's time-piece, to satisfy himself that he was right.

When his portrait appeared in Kay's collections, he never forgave the artist, and from that day forward discarded the apron, thereby thinking to render the portraiture less characteristic. He continued to wear the old cocked hat and shoebuckles till his death, which occurred in 1823. From 1788 to the year of his death (1820) he was the Tron bellman.[1]

The bell which Ebenezer Wilson so long rung is thus celebrated in verse by the poet Fergusson, whom Burns

[1] *Biographical Sketch to Kay*, ii. 86–88.

DR. ANDREW HUNTER.

EBENEZER WILSON,
Ringer of the Tron Kirk Bell.

acknowledged as his master, and who was born in Cap and Feather Close in 1751, the site of which is now covered by the buildings standing on the east side of the North Bridge. Fergusson went to a small school in Niddrie's Wynd, and was well acquainted with the Tron Bell's sound, both then in his house, and in after years as a *warning* when he went to the Cape Club, which met at the Isle of Man's Arms, Craig's Close (265 High Street), or to Down's Tavern in Libberton's Wynd!

TO THE TRON-KIRK BELL.

Wanwordy, crazy, dinsome thing,
As e'er was fram'd to jow or ring,
What gar'd them sic in steeple hing,
They ken themsel':
But weel wat I, they couldna bring
Waur sounds frae hell.

What deil are ye? that I should ban:
You're neither kin to pat nor pan:
Nor ulzie pig, nor maister-can,
But weel may gie
Mair pleasure to the ear o' man
Than stroke o' thee.

Fleece merchants may look bauld, I trow,
Sin' a' Auld Reekie's childer now
Maun stop their lugs wi' teats o' woo,
Thy sound to bang,
And keep it frae gaun through and through
Wi' jarrin' twang.

Your noisy tongue there's nae abidin 't:
Like scauldin' wife's, there is nae guidein 't:
When I'm 'bout ony business eident,
It's sair to thole:
To deave me, then, ye tak a pride in 't,
Wi' senseless knoll.

O! were I provost o' the town,
I swear by a' the powers aboon,
I'd bring ye wi' a reesle down:
Nor should you think
(Sae sair I'd crack and clour your crown)
Again to clink.

For when I've loom'd the meikle cap,
And fain would fa' owre in a nap,
Troth, I could doze as sound's a tap,
Were 't no for thee,
That gies the tither weary chap
To wauken me.

I dreamt ae night I saw Auld Nick:
Quo he—"This bell o' mine's a trick,
A wily piece o' politic,
A cunnin' snare,
To trap fouk in a cloven stick
Ere they're aware.

"As lang's my dautit bell hings there,
A' body at the kirk will skair:
Quo' they, gif he that preaches there
Like it can wound,
We downa care a single hair
For joyfu' sound."

If magistrates wi' me would 'gree
For aye tongue-tackit should you be:
Nor fleg wi' anti-melody
Sic honest fouk,
Whase lugs were never made to dree
Thy doolfu' shock.

But far frae thee the bailies dwell,
Or they would scunner at your knell:
Gie the foul thief his riven bell,
And then, I trow,
The byword hauds, "the deil' himsel'
Has got his due."[1]

[1] Cf. with this the reference to the bell, p. 217.

2nd January 1824.—Payment of £14, 4s. to be made to John Nicolson for hanging Bells in the Tron Church Steeple in the year 1819. Hanging of Bells.

The bell itself did not long survive the pull of its aged bellman, for on 16th November 1824 it was melted by the flames in the great fire which destroyed so much of the Old High Street and the Tron Kirk steeple. Celebrated as it was in song, and associated as it was in the popular mind with *judgment*, relic-hunters had its metal made into souvenirs, which still survive, while the Kirk-Session had part of it made into a baptismal service,[1] which is still used in the church. Of the fire itself there are vivid descriptions, and we give here (1) the account by Chambers, and (2) that of Cockburn.

I. "On the evening of Monday, the fifteenth of November 1824, at a little before ten o'clock, the alarm of 'Fire' was given in the High Street, and soon spread through the whole city. Crowds of people immediately hurried to the spot, and beheld the smoke issuing from the second flat of the Old Assembly Close, occupied by Messrs. Kirkwood and Sons, copper-plate printers. The upper part of this tenement, which consisted of six storeys in height and formed the eastern wing or division of one large uniform pile of building, was, about eleven o'clock, completely involved in the flames.

"Between ten and eleven several fire-engines arrived at the spot, but it was some time later before any water was discharged. . . . Their efforts were inefficient 'otherwise we have every reason to believe the *Courant* office might have been saved, as well as all that extensive range of property down the Old Fish-market and Assembly Closes, to which it was the means of communicating the flames.'

"While the three front tenements were yielding to destruction, the night was calm and serene, and the sparks sent forth by the flames rose high into the air, like embers shot from the crater of a volcano. Their appearance was like the thickest *drift* of a snow-storm—an image that was suggested to the fancy of the bystanders; and the writer

[1] P. 324.

of this narrative was particularly amused by hearing a native of Aberdeenshire exclaim, 'See the *red snaw*!' Showers of burning flakes fell on the dense assembled crowd, to the great damage of their clothes, and, at a moment of peculiar danger, caused a rush down the street, which gave the most serious alarm to those at a distance.

"Many of the chimneys in the neighbourhood were set on fire by these embers; and it was curious to observe here and there, issuing from the picturesque peaks of the houses, a small stream of flame, rendered pale and light by the intensity of the greater conflagration against which it was relieved. The Tron Church was for a considerable time completely enveloped in these dangerous showers of flakes; and we remember of imagining, as a possible occurrence, the disastrous fate which next day befell that building, though the succeeding thought was sufficient to lull our unexpressed and momentary fears in the security of our fellow-citizens. A little after one o'clock an alarm was given from the house opposite to those destroyed; but after a short suspense of horror and dismay, it was found to be only a chimney. Shortly after this period, the night began to change its character, and the wind, accompanied with rain, rose in sudden and fitful gusts. [Here follows account of further destruction.] . . . By nine o'clock, on the morning of Tuesday, the fire had considerably abated, and by mid-day it seemed to be nearly subdued; but while the consternation into which the neighbourhood was thrown by the circumstances related was beginning to subside, the fears of all were revived by the appearance of another sudden and unexpected calamity in a different quarter.

"A little before twelve o'clock, the word was given that the Tron Church[1] was on fire! The agitation and alarm communicated to every part of the town by this intelligence, it is impossible to describe. This edifice, being separated by the breadth of a street from every other building, and

[1] Sir Theodore Martin told me he remembers the alarm, and running, when a boy, from the old High School up Blackfriars Street to see the Tron steeple in a blaze.

CONFLAGRATION OF THE TRON CHURCH, 16TH NOVEMBER 1824

at the distance of nearly two hundred yards from the former conflagration, was the last place where the flames might have been expected to revive. Moreover, there was something sacred in its character as a church, which, in everybody's idea, was supposed to exempt it from the attack of any such calamity. In the excitement of the moment, numbers breathed within themselves, or half-expressed, the belief which they entertained, that it was 'judgment-like!' and even the most unconcerned and profligate persons found themselves incapable of beholding this terrific scene with indifference. It was supposed that some of the flying brands had found their way into the tower, by a window, usually furnished with pent-house boards, which had been blown inwards by the hurricane early in the morning; and that these, being fanned into a flame, produced the dreadful catastrophe. On the first alarm, the firemen, spent as they were with the exertions of the morning, hurried to the spot, where they found a small flame issuing from the south-west corner of the ballustrade (formed of wood) which surmounts the tower. Some, by means of long ladders, reached the roof of the church, from whence they were enabled occasionally to repel the appearance of the flame as it issued from various parts of the steeple. But their exertions were vain and ineffectual, in putting a stop to the devastation which was evidently raging in the interior of the building; and in a short time the whole conical or rather pyramidical superstructure, entirely of wood, cased in lead, was in a blaze, the flames ascending to the top with the greatest fury, and presenting a spectacle singularly terrific and sublime. The weathercock stood for a long time pre-eminent, like a phœnix springing upwards from the flame; but at length it began to veer, and after reeling for a moment, fell, along with the spire, towards the east, with a tremendous crash. The machinery of the clock was now distinctly visible through the apertures of the tower, and gleamed as in a furnace. The clock upon the eastern side of the tower appears to have been earlier affected than the rest;

for the *hands* had stopped at twenty minutes to twelve, while the western dial-plate presented them at a quarter to one. The firemen, who had stood near the scene of danger longer than was judged safe by the crowd, now retired; but, after the spire had fallen, they again ascended to the roof and endeavoured to save the body of the church, when a mass of burning rafters fell among them, happily without doing any injury. It is probable that the church would also have been consumed, but for the seasonable arrival of Deacon Field, an enterprising and most active individual, with a powerful engine belonging to the Board of Ordnance, by means of which the flames were not only confined to the steeple, but were at length got completely under. By this destructive fire the steeple was scathed, and emptied of all its internal furniture, so that it resembled nothing so much as the ruined tower of some aged and dilapidated abbey."[1]

The following speaks of a distinguished witness of the scene:

"Eager to obtain a good view of the scene, James Nasmyth, inventor of the steam hammer, and his father, founder of the Scottish school of landscape painting, ascended the tower of St. Giles. 'When,' says he, 'we emerged from the long dark spiral stairs, we found a select party of the most distinguished inhabitants looking down into the vast area of fire; and prominent among them was Sir Walter Scott.'[2] At length the flames communicated with the Tron Church steeple, from the side of which poured streams of melted lead. The collapse of the quaint wooden spire was followed by Sir Walter Scott's pithy comment, 'Eh, sirs, mony a weary, weary sermon hae I heard beneath that steeple!'"[3]

II. The following is Cockburn's account:—

Tron Church Fire.—"About noon next day (16th November) an alarm was given that the Tron Church was

[1] Chambers's *Edinburgh Fires* (1385–1824), pp. 54–63.
[2] Smiles' *Life of James Nasmyth, Cockburn Memorials*, p. 422.
[3] *New Lights on Old Edinburgh*, p. 43.

VIEW OF THE GREAT FIRE AT EDINBURGH, TAKEN ON THE 16TH DAY OF NOVEMBER 1824.

on fire. We ran out from the Court, gowned and wigged and saw that it was the steeple, an old Dutch thing, composed of wood, iron and lead, and edged all the way up with bits of ornament. Some of the sparks the preceding night had nestled in it, and had at last blown its dry bones into flame. There could not be a more beautiful firework: only it was wasted on the day-light. It was one hour's brilliant blaze. The spire was too high and too combustible to admit of any attempt to save it, so that we had nothing to do but to admire. And it was certainly beautiful. The fire seized on every projecting point, and played with the fret-work, as if it had been all an exhibition. The outer covering boards were soon consumed and the lead dissolved. This made the strong upright and cross beams visible; and these stood, with the flame lessened, but with the red fire increased, as if it had been a great burning toy. The conflagration was long presided over by a calm and triumphant gilded cock on the top of the spire, which seemed to look on the people, and to listen to the crackling in disdain. But it was undermined at last, and dived down into the burning gulf, followed by the upper half of the steeple. The lower half held out a little longer; till, the very bell being melted, this half came down also, with a world of sparks. There was one occurrence which made the gazers start. It was at a quarter before twelve, when the minute hand of the clock stood horizontally. The internal heat—for the clock was untouched outwardly—cracked the machinery, and the hand dropped suddenly and silently down to the perpendicular. When the old time-keeper's function was done, there was an audible sigh over the spectators. When it was all over, and we were beginning to move back to our clients, Scott, whose father's pew had been in the Tron Church, lingered a moment, and said, with a profound heave, 'Eh, sirs, mony a weary, weary sermon hae I heard beneath that steeple!'"[1]

Luckily the old church itself and its venerable oak roof were saved, and a reference to the accounts of the Relief

[1] *Cockburn's Memorials*, pp. 420–422.

Committee recalls the fact, that a sailor, who had "saved the Tron Church" received a gift of three guineas! As one cannot recover his name, it is right that in the Tron Annals, his noble service should be commemorated.

Damage by Fire.

9th February 1825. — Report of damage done to the Tron Church by the fire in November last—"We hereby certify that we have carefully examined the various Accounts rendered for repairing the damage done to the Tron Church by the late fire, and also an Estimate for restoring the Steeple to its original state. We are of opinion that the amount of the damages cannot be less than Seventeen hundred and Seventy eight pounds."

Insurance Claims.

16th February 1825. — Particulars of the Claim against the Hercules and Caledonian Insurance Companies for damages on account of the fire at the Tron Church, viz. :

"Account of damage done to the Tron Church by the late fire, as settled by the Arbiters on 26th January 1825.

Amount of damage done to Steeple	£995	0	6
Ditto—Bells, Clock and Dials	500	0	0
David M^{c}Gibbon's Account for repairs	151	2	5
George Chalmers for Plumber Work	35	13	0
George Bookless for Glazier Work	36	0	0
Thomas Field for Slater Work	15	1	0
Young & Trench for Mason Work	3	13	5
Leith Roperie Coy. for Sail Cloths	11	3	6
William Patison & Son for blankets	1	14	6
Police Account for watching also cleaning, &c.	9	5	2
Mrs. Sprott for cleaning out Church	3	6	6
Ritchie & Kidd for iron railing	8	0	0
John Duff for measuring and valuing sundries	6	0	0
Expenses attending meetings	2	0	0
	£1778	0	0"

The Council authorised the Chamberlain to pay the Accounts above mentioned.

16th February 1825.—The Secretary of the Caledonian Fire Insurance Coy.[1] writes:—"I beg leave to enclose you a copy of a letter which I have written to Mr. Allan of the Hercules Office regarding the loss on the Tron Church. . . . I am at same time authorised to inform you that in order to relieve the Town Council of all trouble and delay we are ready to pay you the *whole* loss on getting a discharge of our Policy and an Assignment to the Policy of the Hercules Company." Enclosure.—"Dear Sir,—As I formerly mentioned to you the Directors authorised me to state a Case for the opinion of a London Office on the point, Whether our Policy on 'the Tron Church including the Pulpit and Seating' included the Clock and Bells and I have received an answer from Mr. Jenkin Jones of the Phœnix Fire Office in the following terms:—The Clock and Bells are fixtures and might or might not have been intended to be included. But as the Policy shows by the special words 'Pulpit and Seating' that fixtures when intended were specifically named it is a fair construction to exclude the 'Clock and Bells' which were not designated." Edinburgh Council and Insurance Controversy.

"If this opinion be sound, as we think it is, the expense of the Clock and bells will fall upon the Hercules Coy. whose Policy, according to the Copy you furnished me with, includes 'everything belonging' to the Church; and we are liable for $\frac{2}{3}^{ds}$ and you for $\frac{1}{3}^{d}$ of the remainder."

The Council agreed to settle as above proposed on receiving from the Caledonian Company a guarantee that the Town shall be free from all claim at the hands of the Hercules Company.

23rd February 1825.—A Committee appointed "to report whether it might not be expedient to remove the Tron Church to Proposed Removal of Tron.

[1] The Caledonian Insurance Company was founded on 3rd May 1805, and at the Centenary Celebration the following statement was made by the Chairman (*Scotsman*, 5th May 1905):—"In the year 1824–5, the year of the great fire in the Old Town of Edinburgh, when one side of the High Street, from Parliament Square to the Tron Church, was swept away, the inability of the insurance companies' fire engines to cope with the conflagration led to the formation of a fire extinguishing service by the Police Commissioners. *That was the origin of the Edinburgh Fire Brigade.*"

some other situation and to convert the site to some other public purpose."

Insurance Controversy.

2nd March 1825.—Letter from Secretary of the Caledonian Fire Insurance Coy. as follows, viz. :—"Edinr. 28th Feby. 1825.—Dear Sir,—Finding that the Hercules Company plead the terms of the intimation to them of the Insurance by our Policy as a ground of relief against the Town, the Directors have authorised payment of 2/3^{ds} of the estimated expense of repairing the Tron Church, being the proportion payable by this Company Corresponding to the sums insured by the Caledonian and Hercules Coys. respectively, an assignation to the Policy of the latter being unnecessary."

Form of Receipt to be granted by the Town—"Received from Mr. William Braidwood, Manager of the Caledonian Fire Insurance Company £1185, 6s. 8d. being the proportion payable by said Coy. of the estimated damage done to the Tron Church by fire in November last, insured by Policy No. 7667 in name of the Right Honble. the Lord Provost, Magistrates and Council of the City of Edinburgh. . . .

Sum insured by Caled^{n}	£2000.	Proportion of loss	£1185	6	8
,, ,, Hercules	1000.	,, ,,	592	13	4
	£3000.	Amt. of loss .	£1778	0	0"

Gowns for Precentors.

13th April 1825.—Deacon Purves authorised to furnish Gowns to the Precentors of the High Church, Old Greyfriars, Tron Church, College Church, and St. Marys, of the pattern of that of St. George's Church.

Communion Tables.

27th April 1825.—Orders given to repair the Communion tables of the Tron Church which were damaged by the fire.

Steeple.

15th June 1825.—Consideration of a letter from the Revd. Dr. Brunton, anent repairing the Tron Church Steeple, delayed until the return of the Lord Provost.

Age Limit for Beadles.

17th August 1825.—The Council resolve that no person shall hereafter be appointed a beadle who exceeds forty-five years of age,

and increases A. Watson's and L. MacKenzie's (beadles of the Tron) Salaries from £3, 2s. 8d. to £8, 8s. per annum, and that of Mrs. Sprott, their assistant, from £3, 2s. 8d. to £4, 4s.

Rebuilding of Tron.

14*th September* 1825.—Working Plans and Specifications having been prepared, for rebuilding the tower of the Tron Church, the Council direct that John Duff, Surveyor, be employed to measure and estimate the work.

Proprietors and Shopkeepers Petition for Removal of Tron.

14*th September* 1825.—The Council remit to a Committee the Petition of the Proprietors and occupiers of Shops in High Street and South Bridge, etc., containing proposals for removing the Tron Church.

Committee's Report.

12*th October* 1825.—The Committee to whom was remitted the above Petition report that "it would not be expedient to suspend the internal repairs of the Tron Church," and the Council approves of this Report.

Internal Renovations.

12*th October* 1825.—The Council agree "that the fronts of the galleries of the Tron Church, and also those parts of the roof which were injured by the fire, and which were lately repaired, should be painted."

Tron Tower.

1*st November* 1826.—A Committee appointed to report as to whether they consider any and what improvement should be made on the tower of the Tron Church and whether a new Clock should be provided.

Removal of Tron recommended by Council Committee.

20*th January* 1827.—The Committee appointed to consider the repair or removal of the Tron Church "Are of opinion that in respect of the smallness of the Church it would be more advisable to dispose of this Church and area under the following conditions :—

"1. That the building to be erected thereon shall include a handsome Steeple, Spire or tower, which shall be approved of by the Council.

"2. That the building itself shall be approved of by the Council.

"3. That the purpose for which such building shall be used, shall be subject to the approval of the Council.

"The Committee are of opinion that when the Church shall be so disposed of, the price shall be applied in the purchase of another site, and building of a New Church."

The Council approve of the foregoing Report and authorise an advertisement to be inserted in the newspapers offering the Church and area for sale by way of public roup.

The following is the notice in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* of Monday, January 22, 1827:—

To Be Sold by Public Roup
within the Council Chambers, Edinburgh, in the
month of May next,
The Tron Church, within the City of Edinburgh,
and Site thereof.
For particulars apply at the Office of the
City Chamberlain or City Clerk's,
Royal Exchange.

Council Chambers,
20th January 1827.

Dr. Brunton's Protest.

24th January 1827.—There was read in Council correspondence between the Lord Provost and the Revd. Dr. Brunton regarding the resolution of the Town Council to expose for Sale the Tron Church and its site. Dr. Brunton, having seen the advertisement in the newspapers, wrote:—"I have no doubt that as soon as there is time for it I shall be officially required by the Kirk Session of the Tron Church respectfully to submit to your Lordship and the Town Council, their sentiments upon a subject in which they have so deep an interest. In the meantime I should think it a failure in duty were I to let this day pass without expressing my own strong conviction that no useful purpose for the parish or for the congregation can be gained by altering the site of the Church. It is not without very great reluctance that I thus obtrude upon your Lordship my individual opinion upon a point of public business. But the subject is one on which I dare not hazard the possibility of being misunderstood."

Session's Protest.

31st January 1827.—The Council remitted to a Committee a

Memorial from the Tron Church Kirk Session objecting to the removal of the Church.

13th June 1827.—Remit to Treasurer's Committee "to consider the state of repair of the tower of the Tron Church and with power, if they should deem it advisable, to obtain plans either from two or three Architects, or in any other way they might deem proper, for a Tower or Spire, the cost of which not to exceed £1800." Tron Tower repair.

27th June 1827.—The Council approved of the following Minute of the Treasurer's Committee in regard to the rebuilding of Tron Kirk Spire:—"The meeting were of opinion that a spire of wood covered with copper, upon the top of the tower, might be made more in character with the building than any other with equal durability and less risk of the sufficiency of the under part of the building, and at less expense; they therefore resolve that this plan shall be adopted, and a plan advertised for offering a premium of £30 for the plan to be adopted by the Council, and that reference be made to the Superintendent for information as to the nature of the building proposed; and also that the expense of this building shall not exceed £1500." Advertisement for Plan.

13th August 1827.—The Council awards the premium for the plan prepared by R. & R. Dickson, Architects. Architect.

August 1827.—The Contractors for building the Tron Church Steeple to be requested to state the difference of expense of executing the work with Craigleith, Humbie, Morton or Cullalo Stone. Contractors.

3rd October 1827.—The Council approves of the following Minute of the Treasurer's Committee on the Tron Church Steeple, and appoints the Committee to take steps for repairing the Dial Plates and for procuring a Clock and Bell, viz.:— Treasurer's Committee Minute.

"Estimates opened

Smith & Cuthbertson—Craigleith Stone . . .	£1950
Liver-rock from Redhall	1575

John Inglis—Craigleith	£1750
Redhall or Humbie	1450
Peter Lorimer—Craigleith	1800
Redhall or Humbie	1550

The Committee having considered these Estimates find that that of Mr. John Inglis is the lowest, and therefore prefer him and accept of his offer to execute the work of Humbie Stone at the above price of £1450 Stg."

Treasurer's Committee Minute.

31*st October* 1827.—The Council approved of the following Minute of the Treasurer's Committee:—"The Committee directed Estimates for a Clock for the Tron Church to be got from Mr. Clark, Mr. Bryson, Mr. Paterson and Mr. Howden and authorised the Superintendent to get the dial plates altered from square to round to suit the plan of Spire; and to inform himself and report as to the lighting with gas on the east and west sides or all the four sides."

Clock.

19*th December* 1827.—On reports by the Treasurer's Committee the Council "(1) Accepted of an estimate by James Clark to furnish (but exclusive of Wright or Mason Work) an eight day Clock for the Tron Church Steeple, to carry four sets of minute and hour hands for dials of from six to eight feet diameter, and of sufficient strength to raise a hammer to strike a bell of 15 cwts.—the Clock to be put into the Steeple in a complete going and striking state, and to be kept free of all expense for twelve months, for the sum of £125 Sterling (2) Remitted to the Lord Provost, Treasurer Luke, Old Dean of Guild and Deacon Fraser with power to give directions in regard to the dial-plates (3) Directed the Superintendent to order from Thomas Mears of Whitechapel, London, a bell for the said steeple of ten or eleven cwts."

Bell from Whitechapel, London.

Architects.

9*th April* 1828.—The Council authorised payment to R. & R. Dickson, Architects, of the sum of £40 to account for the working-drawings and superintendence of the execution of the Tron Church Steeple.

NEW TRON STEEPLE.

NEW YEAR'S EVE AT THE TRON CHURCH.

7th July 1828.—On letter from R. & R. Dickson, Architects for the Tron Kirk Steeple, of the following tenor, the Council authorised the proposed alteration provided the expense does not exceed £50 Sterling, viz. :—"9 Blenheim Place, 7th July 1828—Dear Sir, We will be obliged to you to submit the Sketch we send with this, to the consideration of the Town Council. We think it a very great improvement to our original design for the termination of the Tron Church Spire. We have shown it to Mr. Inglis, the Contractor, who is willing to bind himself that the additional expense shall not exceed £50. We are most decidedly of opinion that a vane such as we have shown in the Sketch is the most appropriate termination to the spire, and that a Weather-cock would have an ungraceful effect and hurt the general appearance of the Steeple."[1] Alteration of Spire Plan. Vane preferred to Weather-cock.

23rd July 1828.—The Council accepts of John Inglis' offer to execute the alteration on the Tron Church Spire for £50. Estimates.

8th October 1828.—The Superintendent reports "that it will be necessary to get a frame with trap ladder and box made for the Clock of the Tron Church; also an order for getting the bell up and hung. The Superintendent has intimated to Mr. Watson, Manager for the Edinburgh Gas Light Company, to consult with Mr. Ruthven about the best mode of lighting the dials." Clock and Bell.

22nd October 1828.—The Council accepted of the following offer by John Ruthven to furnish dials for the Tron Church Steeple :—

"*Edinburgh, 29th August* 1828.—Dear Sir, In reply to your letter of yesterday requiring me to state the lowest sum for the Tron Church dials, I agree to furnish them, as stated in my letter to you on the 21st July, for forty three pounds each, and engage to have them ready for fixing up within four weeks. As Dials.

[1] The new spire of the Tron has the following inscription carved on a stone at its base :—

"The spire of this church was destroyed by the great fire of November MDCCCXXIV. and rebuilt A.D. MDCCCXXVIII., the Right Hon^ble^ Walter Brown, Lord Provost."

the expense that may attend the fixing of them into the spire must depend on the assistance given me, I would beg leave to suggest that this be left to you to determine after that is ascertained, or till one is fixed up. The anxiety I feel that these dials should have the best possible effect may be considered guarantee for my exertion to gain that object."

Clock. 22*nd October* 1828.—The Council accepted of an estimate by John Inglis to make the frame and cover for the Tron Church Clock for £15 Sterling.

Bell, Clocks, Dials, and Lighting. 19*th November* 1828.—The Council appointed the following Committee to superintend the erection of the Bell, the Clock, the Dials and the Lighting and Inscription of the Tron Church Spire, viz.—Lord Provost, Bailies Anderson and Small, Dean of Guild, Treasurer, T. C. Sawers, Convener Brown, and Deacon Cushnie—the Dean of Guild Convener.

Dials. 10*th December* 1828.—The Chamberlain authorised to pay to John Ruthven £100 to account of his estimate for the Tron Church Dials.

Clock. 14*th January* 1829.—The Chamberlain authorised to pay to James Clark £100 to account of the price of the Tron Church Clock.

Clock Frame. 11*th March* 1829.—The Chamberlain authorised to pay to John Inglis £25 for cover and frame for the Tron Church Clock and for repairing foot pavement opposite the Church.

Dials. 18*th March* 1829.—Chamberlain to pay to John Ruthven £72 being balance of his estimate for the dials of the Tron Church Clock.

Clock. 25*th March* 1829.—Chamberlain to pay to James Clark £25 being balance of price of Tron Church Clock and the further sum of £5, 3s. for alteration on the work in consequence of lighting the dials with gas.

Lobby Pavement. 20*th May* 1829.—The Superintendent of Public Works reports

that he has "made an inspection and measurement of the lobby pavement in the Tron Church and finds it so much broken that were it lifted there is not above three pieces that would lay down again; the present pavement being Hailes Stone it has always a damp appearance. If it is to be done anew I would recommend Arbroath pavement. The quantity required measures 200 feet superficial which in the present times could be done for £8, 15s." and the Council authorise the work to be done.

Lobby Pavement.

3rd June 1829.—The Superintendent reports that he has engaged John Inglis to repair the pavement of the Tron Church Lobby for £8, 15s. on condition that he shall be paid on completion of the work.

Lowering Seat Rents.

9th September 1829.—The Council agree "that a trial should be made of the effect of lowering the rents of a few of the Churches, the seats of which are not fully let viz. Tron," etc.

Steeple.

9th September 1829.—The Committee on the Tron Church Steeple to whom was remitted an Account to John Ruthven, amounting to £47, 4s. 6d., for fixing up the dials and for experiments, etc., connected with the lighting of the same with gas, recommended that £10 be deducted from the account because of the assistance given to him in fixing up the dials, and the Council recommits the matter to the Committee with full powers.

Lighting of Tron with Gas.

9th September 1829.—The Council resolved "that as the Tuesday and Sunday evening Services hitherto performed in the New North Church are henceforward to be performed in the Tron Church, to remit to the Committee on the Tron Church Steeple to fix upon a plan for lighting the same with gas, and with powers to procure estimates and to order the work to be proceeded with."

Lighting of Tron with Gas.

14th October 1829.—The Committee appointed in regard to the gas fittings for the Tron Church reported that they had accepted the estimate of the heirs of James Smith, being the lowest, to execute the work for the sum of £31, 10s., they warranting the

same to stand for five years, excepting injury done to the work and breakage of shades or glasses—Of which report the Council approved.

Lighting of Tron with Gas.

9th December 1829.—The Council accepted an Estimate by the heirs of James Smith to make certain improvements on the gas fittings of the Tron Church for £15, 15s.

Assembly in Tron—

31st March 1829.—On letter from the Revd. Dr. Brunton the Council grant the use of the Tron Church for this year's Meeting of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland,[1] as the alterations upon the fabric of St. Giles make it impossible for the Meeting to be held in the usual place. The Council stipulate that the expense of the necessary alterations shall be provided for by the Committee of the Assembly.

Repairs for.

28th April 1830.—The Council remit to the Dean of Guild, and others, a letter from the Revd. Dr. Brunton requesting some repairs to the Tron Church previous to the Meeting of the General Assembly.

Painting of Tron for.

5th May 1830.—Deacon Mackintosh ordered to size-paint the Tron Church before the Meeting of the General Assembly—one-half the expense of which Sir Henry Jardine, on behalf of the Barons of Exchequer, had engaged to defray.

Bell-Ringer.

2nd June 1830.—The Ringer of the Tron Church Bell to receive an increase to his salary of £2, 10s. per annum in consideration of his ringing the Tron Church bell for the week day and Sunday evening services now held in that Church.

Gates and Railing.

20th October 1830.—The Council accepts Robert Ritchie's Estimate to repair the gates and railing of the Tron Church at a cost of £4.

Assembly.

4th May 1831.—The Council again grant the use of the Tron Church for the Meeting of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.

[1] See Appendix, pp. 333–338.

2nd May 1832.—On an application from the Revd. Dr. Brunton, Convener of the General Assembly's Committee on the subject of the Assembly Aisle the Council agreed to permit the General Assembly to hold its ensuing meetings in the Tron Church. Assembly.

18th December 1833.—A Report presented to the Council and relating to the City Churches gives the following particulars regarding the Tron Church, viz.:—Number of Sittings 786—Let 263. Unlet 439; free 84—Amount drawn for seat rents £143, 12s.—Estimated value of unlet seats £190, 4s. 6d.—Highest rate of rent 18s. 6d.—lowest 1s. 6d. Average rate 9s. 6d.—Annual sum paid over to Factor for Clergy as Salaries on an average of three years £1180, 8s. 8d. Annual expense of repairs and furnishings, Salaries to Beadles, etc. etc. £182, 15s. 8d. Estimated value of Church £7500. Amount of annual expense including Salaries, feu duty and interest £1663, 4s. 4d. Population in parish per 1831 Government Census 3009. Registered Voters 208. Registered marriages from Martinmas 1832–33, 30. Registered Baptisms from Martinmas 1832–33, 19. Extent of Parish in square yards 34,822. Seats, etc.

12th November 1834.—The Council ordered to lie on the table a letter from the Tron Church Session complaining of the growing frequency of the practice of allowing that Church to be used for Meetings utterly unconnected with any religious purpose. Complaint from Session.

[The Session Records show that the Kirk-Session of the Tron had expressed their "unanimous reprobation" of the Town Council and Dean of Guild granting the use of the Church "for purposes in no wise connected with religious or charitable objects"—such as ward meetings—one of which had been actually held during Communion-week.[1] Thus the Convention of Royal Burghs met within the Tron on July 13, 1830, and on other occasions the Council had granted the Church for ward and political meetings. Its situation always commanded an audience, and the Kirk Session's protest was neither untimely nor in vain.]

[1] Minute of 31st October 1834.

Seat Rents.

10*th March* 1835.—A Return of Church Seats shows that in the Tron Church for the year 1833–34 there were 311 seats let and 391 unlet, while in 1834–35 the numbers were 309 let and 420 unlet. The revenue derived from which was £162, 6s. 8d. and £153, 4s. for the respective years. 53 persons resided in the Ancient Royalty, 126 in the Extended Royalty, 79 in the West Church parish, 5 in the parish of Canongate, 2 in North Leith parish, 27 in South Leith parish and 17 doubtful—not having the addresses—total 309.

Analysis of Numbers in relation to Residence.

Lowering of Rents.

7*th April* 1835.—On the motion of the Dean of Guild the Council ordered that all the seats in the Tron Church at 6s. or under shall be let at the rate of 1s. for the ensuing half year, to Parishioners not having seats in any Church, who are recommended by the Session of the Tron Church.

Lowering of Rents.

15*th September* 1835.—The Council approve of a recommendation to reduce the seat rental of the Tron Church to the extent of £22, 3s.

Working Classes apply for Tron Church for Meeting.

13*th December* 1836.—The Council refuse to grant the petition of a Meeting of Working Classes for the use of the Tron Church and also refuse to grant the petition of Walter Newall for the same purpose.

Clock.

11*th September* 1838.—James Gray, Keeper of the Public Clocks, authorised to make repairs on the Tron Church Clock at a cost of £1, 10s.

Illuminating Reflectors.

10*th October* 1838.—The Council accepts Messrs. Smiths and Company's Estimate of £6, 18s. 6d. to fit up new reflectors for the purpose of illuminating the dials of the Tron Church, including wright and painting work, and the pointing the outsides of the dials with Mastic.

General Assembly meets in Tron from 1829 to 1840.

30*th July* 1839.—On Memorial of the Tron Church Session[1] to refuse the use of the Church for the meeting of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, on account of the damage done to the

[1] See Appendix, p. 333.

Church, the use of which has been sanctioned by the Council for the Assembly's Meetings for a period of ten years past, and pointing out "that on every occasion of the Meeting of Assembly the pews in the area of the Church are wholly removed and again replaced, and from the frequency of these alterations they have suffered considerable injury and now exhibit a very patched appearance altogether unbecoming in a place of worship"—the Council approve of a Report by the Lord Provost's Committee that the Lords of the Treasury should be requested to direct their attention to the subject of the Assembly Hall and Church, and that they should be informed that if steps shall be speedily taken to proceed with the erection of the proposed building the Council will have no objection to afford the use of the Tron Church for the Meeting of Assembly next year, but failing this being done the Council will feel it to be their duty to refuse the use of the Tron Church on any future occasion.

Damage and Patching.

Attention of Lords of Session to be directed for an Assembly Hall.

10*th September* 1839.—Letter from the Revd. Dr. Brunton stating that the Tron Kirk Session have been placed in an awkward position by the Council granting permission to the General Assembly to hold its meetings in their Church, seeing "we understood ourselves to have received from the General Assembly's Committee, a pledge that the use of the Church should not be *asked* by them again; and intimation of this was accordingly made from the pulpit in May . . . . and we anticipate a disagreeable result when the Church Seats come again to be let. Before that time however we hope means will be found which may prevent the necessity of our taking any unpleasant steps for our own vindication."

Dr. Brunton's Protest.

10*th December* 1839.—Anent the Tron Church being used for the next General Assembly meeting "his Lordship further stated that the Treasury had recently completed the purchase of the ground for the site of the Building, and that Mr. Gillespie Graham, the Architect employed by the Woods and Forests, was now in correspondence with that Board in regard to immediately proceeding with the Building. Under these circumstances his Lordship

1840 Assembly to be held in Tron.

expressed a hope that the Kirk Session of the Tron Church would submit to the inconvenience of the General Assembly holding their Meeting there during the ensuing year under the express understanding that the Magistrates and Council would immediately after the Meeting of the Assembly proceed thoroughly to repair and paint the Tron Church."

1841 Assembly in Tron.

7th January 1840.—Under express condition that the Town Council fulfil their obligation to repair and paint the Tron Church the Session agree to sanction the use of the Church being granted by the Town Council for the Meeting of the General Assembly in May next.

Painting.

18*th August* 1840.—Ballantyne and Allan's Estimate accepted for executing painter work in the Tron Church according to specification, for £18 Stg. If the Vestry shall be papered instead of being size-coloured the additional cost to be from 20s. to 40s. according to pattern.

Further Controversy between Council and Session.

1*st September* 1840.—The Plans and Works Committee report "that as there is some prospect of a necessity arising for thoroughly repairing the Tron Church at no distant period it would not be expedient at present to alter the seating of the area of the Church, but that the Superintendent should be authorised to order the Book-board of the front gallery seats to be improved in the manner suggested by him—the expense not to exceed £4." The Council approved of this Report and a Motion "that the repairs and painting, estimated for at the Tron Church, shall only be executed upon the express Condition that the General Assembly's Commission and the General Assembly Meeting shall not be again held within that Church *without* the Sanction of the Session" was defeated.

Tron Parish.

20*th October* 1840.—The Tron Church Parish is thus described, viz.:—"All closes and buildings on the south side of the High Street from the head of Saint Mary's Wynd to the west side of the Tron Church. The east side of Blair Street and the north side of

the Cowgate from the foot of said street downwards to the foot of Saint Mary's Wynd."

17*th November* 1840.—The Tron Church Session being strongly opposed to their Church being used for other than religious services, write "that in consequence of the interest that may be attached by the public to the discussions at the ensuing Meetings of the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale and Commission of General Assembly, an application may be made to you for the use of that Church by these bodies, [the Session] have ordered me to express their hope that any such application if made by either of them will be refused in terms of the understanding and pledge which the Session have received from the Town Council to the effect that the Tron Church shall not be again granted for such Meetings"; and the Town Council resolve "that no Meeting of the kind alluded to in the above letter shall be permitted to be held in the Tron Church, or in any of the City Churches, as the Church Aisle contains sufficient accommodation for the purpose." Ecclesiastical Controversies of the Period cause a loud Protest from the Tron Session.

30*th March* 1841.—Return showing that in the Tron Church for the year 1839–40 there were 245 seats let as against 471 unlet, while in the following year the numbers are 263 let and 476 unlet, thus showing an increase of 18 seats let; and there were also 23 free sittings occupied by scholars which are included amongst those let. The Revenue for the year 1839–40 was £81, 14s. 6d. and that for 1840–41 £77, 19s. 6d. thus showing a decrease during the latter year of £3, 15s., 44 sittings were let for the half year and abatements made to those residing or carrying on business within the Royalties amounted to £12, 19s. 6d. and to Parishioners £2, 11s. 6d. both for the year 1840–41. Seat Returns of Tron.

7*th December* 1841.—The Council remitted to the Plans and Works Committee, a Motion to take steps to make the Dial Plates of the Tron Church Clock more visible at night as at present the hours cannot be properly seen from the improper way in which the light is Dial Plates.

placed behind the Dial Plates, or from the Dial Plates requiring to be cleaned.

Illuminating of Dials.

4th January 1842.—Messrs. Miln & Son to furnish fittings for lighting up the four dials of the Tron Church clock at a cost of £11, 6s. If a gas regulator is required other £2, 10s. to be added to this sum, and the clerks were directed "to address a letter to the Manager of the Edinburgh Gas Light Company explaining that the experiments which have been made on the West Dial of the Tron Church having completely succeeded, the Council propose to improve the other three Dials on the same principle, and to express a hope that as the Company have hitherto handsomely supplied the gas gratuitously, they will, with the same liberality, afford the encreased supply required for the completion of the improvements now in progress."

Gratuitous Offer of Gas Company.

18th January 1842.—The Edinburgh Gas Light Company having consented to furnish gratuitously the increased supply of gas for lighting the Dials of the Tron Church Clock, the Council direct their thanks to be transmitted to them for their liberality and have accepted Messrs. Milne and Son's Estimate for the gas fittings.

Collegiate Ministers to be allowed only one Beadle.

7th October 1843.—The present Salary of £8, 8s. per annum, to each of the Beadles, to be continued but the practice of allowing two Beadles in Churches where there are two Ministers to be put an end to, and a Table of Regulations describing the duties of the Beadles and Door Keepers, under the following heads, approved of by the Council, viz. :—"Duties on Sabbath," "Communion Services," "Extra Services," "Meetings of Session," "Cleaning of the Churches," "Stoves—Lighting," "Notices on Church Doors," "Collection Boxes," "Proclamations of Marriages," "Repairs of Churches," "Other Duties," "Door Keepers."

Vacant Offices.

5th December 1843.—"The Plans and Works Committee report that two Offices connected with the Tron Church have recently become vacant: 1. That of Ringer of the Bell by the death of

James Macfarlane, and 2. That of lighter of the Clock-dials by the death of James Blackhall.

"The duties of the former Office are to ring the bell *every* evening at 8 o'clock,—at 10 and 1 o'clock of every Sabbath—at the usual hours of Worship on the Sabbaths (the Morning lecture included) Fast and other preaching days connected with the Communion, also on the Queen's Birth-day.

"Of the latter Office the duties are to keep clean and light the dials every evening at darkening and to put out the lights every morning by ½ past 1 o'clock.

"The Committee propose to appoint James Blackhall, Brass-founder, to both Offices, during the pleasure of the Council, and to allow him a Salary of £20 per annum and 10s. for grease—£10, 10s. whereof to be charged against the Ecclesiastical and £10 against the Municipal Revenues. It being understood that for any extra duties he shall be paid by those who may employ him."

Tron Seat Rents.

26th March 1844.—Return showing that in the year 1842–43 the number of Seats let in the Tron Church were 198 and 521 unlet, while 8 pews were set apart for the poor; in the following year the numbers were 203 let and 516 unlet, making an increase of 5 seats let. The Revenue for 1842–43 amounted to £64, 7s. 6d. and for the following year £75, 1s. 6d. making an increase of £10, 14s.—38 Sittings were let for the half year only. Abatements made to those residing or carrying on business within the Royalties amounted to £9, 19s. and to Parishioners the sum was 15s. 6d. Of the 203 persons to whom seats were let, 46 resided in the Ancient Royalty, 71 in the Extended Royalty, 75 in the West Kirk Parish, 2 in Canongate Parish, and 9 in South Leith Parish.

Clock in Tron.

25th August 1846.—Mr. Peter Gray reports that the Clock of the Tron Church "requires new minute wheel pinions, as they are very much cut; the communication rods require repairing and the hands poised and bushed" and the Council authorise him to perform the work.

[The accounts of the overthrow of Louis Philippe's government at Paris in February 1848 excited intense interest in Scotland, one result of which was an alarming riot which took place in Edinburgh on the 7th March. Upwards of 3000 people assembled at the Tron Kirk, evidently bent on mischief, and the Lord Provost enrolled a number of citizens as special constables, and sent to Piershill and the Castle for military aid, while the Sheriff read the Riot Act, and advised the crowds to disperse. These proceedings being energetically followed up, a stop was speedily put to the disturbances, but not till considerable mischief had been done.[1]]

13*th June* 1848.—In reporting on the state of the Tron Church the Superintendent states that "the arrangements and architectural effect of the interior of this Church is exceedingly good and it only requires to be well cleaned and painted to render it a credit to the City," and suggests that "the handsome open timber roof be carefully dusted down and re-varnished—the pendants being touched up with party colours the smaller knobs being gilded to correspond with the others. Those Pews which require to be lifted periodically for the Communion Tables are, from so frequent shifting, completely shattered. These and the Communion Tables would require to be renewed. Instead of re-fitting them in their present form the Superintendent recommends that the centre should be entirely re-seated with new Pews, formed so that the back of the Pew shall fold down to serve as a table, similar to those recently fitted up in the New Grey-Friars and others Churches. The probable cost of Cleaning and Painting may be stated at about . . £130
Expense of new pews 75
Alteration on Stone—say 5

Total . . £210"

Tron Oak Roof.

New Pews with Folding Backs.

14*th July* 1848.—The Council accepted John Nicol and Sons Estimate for alterations on the Seating of the Tron Church at a

[1] *Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland*, p. 487.

cost of £88, and James Dunn's Estimate to paint the Church at a cost of £123.

19*th September* 1848.—The Council give instructions for the removal of all Hurleys and Barrows which are affixed to the railings on the west side of the Tron Church and which are to a certain extent the cause of nuisance. Hurleys and Barrows to be removed.

26*th September* 1848. — Tron Church Clock ordered to be repaired. Clock.

4*th July* 1854.—Memorial from the Tron Kirk Session showing that through a defect in the Cupola of the Church the rain drops through on the Seats underneath to the discomfort of the occupants; also that the lobby requires cleaning and painting, and that "the Congregation are very desirous to have an alteration made on the space occupied by the Precentor's desk and the Band—by removing the present desk and bringing the Precentor and Band together, which cannot be effected by the present arrangement, and in consequence a want of concert is too often observable in a most important part of the Church Service." They are prepared to make provision for the cost of the latter alteration if authorised to carry it out and the Council grant permission for this to be done at the expense of the Memorialists and further give authority for the first two articles to be done at the expense of the Good Town. Memorial from Session to Town Council.

5*th September* 1854.—Memorial from the Tron Kirk Session to have alterations made on doors and stairs of Galleries—repair on Platform of Pulpit—repair of pavement in entrance lobby—Gas pipes at Precentor's desk and a Chair for the Precentor. The Council decline to make the alterations on doors and stairs—authorise the Platform of Pulpit to be raised 15 inches or thereby —decline to repair pavement—grant permission to the Memorialists to fit up gas at the Precentor's desk at their own expense and find that a chair for the Precentor is not necessary. Council's Resolution anent.

30*th October* 1856.—Authority given to the Tron Kirk Session to set apart pews numbered 1. 2. 21–68 and 86 for the use of poor Seats for Poor Parishioners.

parishioners, during the Council's pleasure, at a rent of 1s. per annum for each sitting.

Lighting of Dials.

7th April 1857.—James Ritchie & Son's Estimate of £25 accepted for improving the lighting of the dials of the Tron Church Clock which is stated to be imperfectly lighted owing to the construction of the Masonry of the Steeple.

Children and Teachers of United Industrial Schools.

8th March 1859.—The Council approve of a Report of the Treasurer's Sub-Committee that the pews in the Tron Church numbered 86 and 87, containing ten sittings each, should be allotted, free of rent, for the use of the children and Teachers of the United Industrial Schools.

Tron Seats and Seat-holders.

20th March 1860.—A Return of Church Seats showing that in the Tron Church for the year 1858–59 there were 546 Seats let and allocated and 151 unlet, while in 1859–60 the numbers were 575 let and allocated and 102 unlet. The Revenue derived from which was £184, 8s. 6d. and £201, 2s. for the respective years. 93 sittings were let during the latter year for half a year only, and abatements to persons residing or carrying on business within the City parishes amounted to £25, 18s. 93 persons resided in the Old Town, 194 in the New Town, 238 in the West Kirk Parish, 24 in the Canongate, 22 in South Leith, 1 in North Leith and 3 in other parishes, the total in parishes beyond the City parishes being 288.

Annuity Tax Abolition Act.

18th December 1860.—Under the Annuity Tax Abolition Act, the custody and Administration of the Church Clocks and Bells having passed from the hands of the Magistrates and Council into those of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, the Council direct the Chamberlain to discontinue the payments hitherto made for "keeping the Clocks of the Churches in time, ringing the Small Bell in St. Giles, lighting the Tron Church Clock and playing the Music Bells."

Salary for Lighting Clock.

5th March 1861.—The Chamberlain authorised to pay £2, 10s. to Thomas Wood for his services in lighting and extinguishing

the gas at the Tron Church Clock for the quarter from 11th November to 2nd February.

19*th March* 1861.—The Merchants in the High Street, and others, having presented a Memorial praying the Council to cause the lighting of the Tron Church Clock to be resumed, the Council direct intimation to be made to the Memorialists that as the matter is now under the charge of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners the Council cannot interfere. Protest of Merchants to have Lighting resumed.

2*nd April* 1861.—The Manager of the Edinburgh Gas Light Company intimates that, until the present difficulties are overcome, the Company will undertake the lighting and extinguishing the gas at the dials of the Tron Church Clock, in addition to supplying the gas, and the Council resolve to record their thanks to the Directors of the Gas Company for their handsome offer. Gas Company help in the Difficulty.

16*th April* 1861.—The Chamberlain authorised to pay £2, 14s. to the Bell Ringers for tolling the bells on the day of the funeral of Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Kent, and the Council give instructions that on future occasions, unless instructions be given to the contrary, only the bells of St. Giles' and St. Andrew's Churches shall be rung or tolled. Tolling of Bells at Funeral of Duchess of Kent.

22*nd October* 1867.—Presentation to the Revd. James MacGregor, at present Minister of the Tron parish of Glasgow, to be Minister of the Tron Church, Edinburgh. Presentation to Dr. MacGregor.

30*th November* 1869.—Thomas Wood, Writer's Court, appointed to ring the Tron Church bell every lawful morning from twenty-five to thirty minutes past five and to see that the Clock is kept constantly lighted. The appointment to be during the Council's pleasure and the remuneration to be paid quarterly at the rate of £10 per annum. The Council also give directions to Messrs. Ritchie, Watchmakers, to fix up a self-acting apparatus for turning on and off the gas. Council again undertake care of Clock and Bell-ringing.

Council again undertake care of Clock and Bell-ringing.

23rd September 1873.—The West Dial of the Tron Church Clock having been fitted with a silverised reflector and properly lighted, the Council give directions for the other dials to be similarly fitted and lighted.

Numerous references, extending over a period of 200 years, are found in this Chronicle relating to the M'Call Mortification.[1] The last appointment was that of the Rev. John Pringle, made on 30th January 1866; the following references from the City Records show that the Trust passed under the jurisdiction of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners "for the purposes of the Statute":—

30th November 1869.—Read in Council the following letter from the Clerk to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, viz.:—"Edinr. 12 London Street, 17 Novr. 1869.—Dear Sir—M^{c}Call Mortification —I am favoured with your letter of to-day and beg to state in reply that I am authorised by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to state that they entirely approve of the interest of the above Mortification being paid to Mr. Pringle as formerly until the event underspecified. The Commissioners have no control directly over the interest of the M^{c}Call Mortification until they shall have appointed a Clergyman to the New Canongate Parish of which appointment notice will be duly given to the Town Council. I remain, &c. (Signed) James Macknight, (addressed) J. D. Marwick Esq. City Clerk."

21st June 1871.—Read Report by the Treasurer's Committee of the following tenor:—"Edinburgh, 26th May 1871. The Clerk represented to the Treasurer's Committee that by the 23rd Section of the Annuity Tax Act of last Session, the annual produce of M^{c}Call's Mortification is vested in the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for the purposes of the Statute. The Committee therefore recommend that authority be granted for paying over to the Commissioners the present and future revenues of the Mortification (Signed) James Colston T^{r}." The Magistrates and Council approved of the foregoing Report, and granted authority as therein recommended.

[1] See pp. 204, 236 et seq.

CHAPTER X

PROMINENT MEMBERS OF THE TRON KIRK (FROM 1744 TO 1822)

CHAPTER X

PROMINENT MEMBERS OF THE TRON KIRK (FROM 1744 TO 1822)

VERY seldom do the City Records contain the full yearly seat lists, but fortune has favoured the preservation of the Tron lists for 1650 (Cromwell's year) and 1745 (Prince Charlie's). They have been already given.[1] Generally speaking, the City Chamberlain's accounts only give the sum total of yearly income. Besides the pews for parishioners, who received their seats in the Parish Kirk at fixed rents, there were other seats at the disposal of the Town Council of Edinburgh, which were evidently much coveted and valued. Direct application had to be made for such, and the successful applicants have their privilege duly recorded in the City Records. A search has brought to the light a galaxy of names,—many of them preserved in the history of their country, and all of them distinguished in their day. We can only give a notice of those who are more prominent in the annals of the country. When this list is compared with that of 1650 (p. 148), with that of 1745 (p. 171), and with those mentioned (pp. 213–242), it will at once be seen what a noble service the Tron Kirk has rendered to the religious life both of Edinburgh and Scotland. To recall them is to be conscious of a great cloud of witnesses, of differing types, around its venerable walls; and when one remembers that the oldest of our Communion Cups has passed through their hands, it becomes to our thought both hallowed with sacred memories

[1] Pp. 148–160, 171–182.

and a venerable symbol of the faith that abides one and the same throughout the centuries, uniting together the one family of God.

28*th November* 1744.—Report by the Magistrates giving the number of Seats as one hundred and twenty-six (126) and the rental thereof as one thousand three hundred and twenty-four pounds Scots (£1324 Scots).

19*th December* 1744.—The following persons were preferred to Seats, during the Council's pleasure, the rents to be paid yearly in advance, viz. :—*John Russell of Braidshaw* to the Seat No. $\frac{32}{33}$ formerly possessed by Andrew Gray, Wigmaker, *Gavin Hamilton* Merchant and one of the *present Bailies*, and *Mr. Robert White* Doctor of Medicine, jointly, to the Seat No. 110 formerly possessed by the *Duchess of Montrose*, *Archibald Stewart*, *Writer to the Signet*, to half of the Seat No. $\frac{66}{67}$ formerly possessed by *Provost Coutts*, *Mr. James Graham*, Junr., *Advocate*, and *Thomas Baillie*, *W.S.*, jointly to the Seat possessed by *Mr. Robert Hepburn.*

26*th July* 1745.—*Mr. Henry Barclay of Calerny*, Advocate, preferred to the seat presently possessed by *Lady Elphinston.*

28*th August* 1745.—*Mr. William Grant*, *Advocate*, preferred to the seat formerly possessed by *Mr. James Geddes*, *Advocate.*

11*th February* 1747.—*Lady Luffness* preferred to Seat No. 4, last possessed by Mrs. Chalmers.

30*th November* 1748.— . . . . *White* late *Provost of Kirkcaldy* to Seats Nos. 13 and 14 to be turned into a Pew by Mr. White at his own expense.

15*th November* 1749.—*Mr. Patrick Grant of Elchies* ([1]), *one of the Senators of the College of Justice*, preferred to Seat No. 116 last possessed by the *Lady Bavely* ([2]), *Mr. Andrew M^cDouall*, *Advocate*, to Seat No. 106 of which he formerly possessed one half only.

([1]) Patrick Grant, Lord Elchies, was the son of Captain Grant of Easter Elchies. He succeeded Sir John Maxwell of Pollok as Judge of the Court of Session in 1732, and Pringle of Newhall in the Court of Justiciary in 1736. He

collected *Decisions of the Court*, 1733–57, published in 1813; also *Annotations on Stair's Institutes*, printed in 1824. He died at the house of Insch, near Edinburgh, aged sixty-four.

(2) Lady Bavely—Mrs. Scott of Bavelaw, Parish of Penicuik.

20*th February* 1751.—*The Honble. John Maule, Esquire, one of the Barons of Exchequer*, preferred to Seat No. 118, lately possessed by *Mr. Charles Maitland of Pitrichie.*

22*nd November* 1752.—*Gilbert Lawrie*,[1] Merchant, preferred to Seat No. 55, lately possessed by *Mr. James Montgomery, Advocate*, and *John Jack, Solicitor* in Canongate.

27*th December* 1752.—*Mr. Thomas Miller*, Advocate, *John Davidson, W.S.*, and *George Chalmers*, Merchant, equally amongst them, preferred to Seat No. 114 lately possessed by *John Hay of Lawfield.*

13*th June* 1753.—*Mr. Robert Pringle, Advocate*, preferred to the seat formerly occupied by his lately deceased mother.

5*th December* 1753.—*Mrs. Thomson Lady Lidington* and *Mrs. Crawfurd* widow of *Professor Crawfurd* preferred to half of Seat No. 44, last possessed by *Mrs. Maxwell* of Preston now *Lady Alva* (1).

(1) Lady Alva, wife of Sir Harry Erskine, fifth Baronet of Alva and Cambuskenneth (*d.* 1765).

12*th December* 1753.—*James Russell*, Surgeon, present Convener of the Trades, preferred to the seat sometime possessed by *Mr. George Balfour, Clerk to the Signet.*

24*th April* 1754.—*Mr. Fairholme, City Treasurer*, preferred to the seat presently possessed by *Lord Dun* upon condition of his Lordship giving up possession.

31*st July* 1754.—*Mr. John Grant of Elchies*, Advocate, preferred to the seat lately possessed by the deceased *Patrick Grant of Elchies*, one of the *Senators of the College of Justice*, his father.

[1] Afterwards Lord Provost.

16*th October* 1754.—*Mr. John Jardine* preferred to the seat lately possessed by the deceased *Principal Wisheart.*[1]

18*th December* 1754.—*Mr. Watson of Muirhouse Mr. Baird of Newbeath* and *Mr. Rochied of Innerleith* preferred to Seat No. 14 last possessed by *Dr. Sinclair.* Mrs. Lindsay to Seat No. 25 last possessed by *Bailie Walker. Doctor Taylor* to Seat No. 40 last possessed by *Mr. Kenneth M^cKenzie. Professor Stevenson* and *Deacon George Stevenson* to Seat No. 41, last possessed by John Bailie.

18*th December* 1754.—*Baron Ereskine* (1) to half of the seat last possessed by *Lady Monzie.* Mrs. Blair to Seat No. 105, last possessed by *Mr. Inglis of Auchindinny.*

(1) James Erskine, Baron of Exchequer.

8*th October* 1755.—*George Drummond, Esq., Lord Provost* (2), preferred to Seat No. 120 and 121 lately possessed by the deceased *Sir John Clerk of Pennycook* (3). And *Mrs. M^cGill* and *Doctor Adam Austine* to seat No. 10 lately possessed by *Mr. Hary Barcley.*

(2) George Drummond was six times Lord Provost of Edinburgh, and was said to have calculated the financial details of the Union in 1705. He was Accountant-General of Excise, 1707–15, and raised a company of volunteers for service against the Earl of Mar in 1715. He was a member of Edinburgh Council in 1715, and was Lord Provost in 1725, 1746, 1750–51, 1754–55, 1758–59, and 1762–63. He established a medical faculty and five professorships in Edinburgh University, and joined Sir John Cope in 1745. He organised schemes for the improvement of Edinburgh.

(3) Sir John Clerk of Penicuick was a Commissioner for the Union and Baron of Exchequer in 1708. He succeeded his father as second Baronet in 1722. He prepared an *Historical Review of Forms and Powers in Court of Exchequer*, and various papers for Philosophical Transactions. He carried on a learned correspondence with Roger Gale, antiquary,

[1] See p. 196.

and became a friend and patron to Allan Ramsay. He wrote the song, "O, merry may the maid be that marries the miller." He died in 1755, aged seventy-one.

12*th November* 1755.—The Lord Provost resigns possession of his seat in favour of *Lady Clerk* and *Sir James Clerk.*

10*th December* 1756.—*Mr. Dewar of Vogrie* half of loft No. 99 presently possessed by *Mr. William Alston. Deacon Penman* and *Alexander Hunter*, Merchant, to the Seat No. 47 last possessed by *Lady Luffness*, and *Mrs. M^c Viccar* to seat No. 22 last possessed by *Mr. Penman* and *Mr. Hunter.* Lord Provost Drummond and *George Ker, Esq., of Nisbet* (1), Senator of the College of Justice, each allotted one half of seat No. 28 last possessed by *Sir John Inglis.*

(1) George Carre or Ker of Nisbet was elevated to the bench on the death of Hew Dalrymple of Drummore, and took his seat by the title of Lord Nisbet, 31st July 1755. He died in 1766.

9*th March* 1758.—On report by a Committee of *the Lords of Session* appointed to consider what right their Lordships had to possess seats or pews in the churches rent free—the Council are of opinion that the reasons set forth are not sufficient to warrant them to give up the City's right to the seat rents and declare that none shall be exempted from payment except the *ministers of the City only.*

13*th December* 1758.—*Lady Dirleton* preferred to seat No. 12, 13 last possessed by *Dr. Martin.*

5*th November* 1760.—*Mrs. Helen Grant*, relict of *Andrew M^c Doual of Bankton*, Esqr. (2) one of the Senators of the College of Justice, preferred to the seat last possessed by her deceased husband.

(2) Andrew MacDowal of Bankton was elevated to the bench in 1755, and died in 1760.

8*th December* 1762.—*Mrs. Scott of Kiltearn* preferred to seat No. 8 last possessed by *Alexr. Boyd. Captain John Pitcarne* to one

half and *Lady Lethem* and *Charles Thomson* to the other half of seat No. 25, and *Mr. Williamson of Cardronar* to seat No. 108 last possessed by *Gavin Waugh.*

14*th December* 1763.—*Mr. Smith of Methven* (1) preferred to seat No. 2 last possessed by *James Kilpatrick. John Watson* of *Muirhouse, Esq.* and *Mrs. Rochead* to seat No. 81 and 82 last possessed by *Mrs. Rochead* and *Mr. William Baird. Lady Alva* and *Mr. Sinclair of Ulbster* to seat No. 83 and 84 last possessed by *Mr. Areskine, Justice Clerk* (2), and *Walter Cossar* to seat No. 108 last possessed by *Mr. Williamson of Cardrona.*

(1) David Smith of Methven was admitted advocate in 1769 and promoted to the bench in the room of Francis Garden of Gardenston, and took his seat by the title of Lord Methven in 1793. He died in 1806.

(2) Lord Tinwald, made Lord Justice Clerk in 1748 and died in 1763.

22*nd August* 1764.—Alexander Orr, W.S., preferred to seat lately possessed by *Bailie Gavin Hamilton* and *Dr. Robert White.*

25*th December* 1764.—*Mr. Lockhart of Cleghorn* and *William Taylor, Writer*, preferred to seat No. $\frac{24}{25}$, each one half. *Lady Alva* to seat No. $\frac{83}{84}$. *David Craigie*, Writer to the Signet and *Mr. Craigie of Kilgraston* jointly to seat No. $\frac{35}{36}$. *George St. Clair of Ulbster* to seat No. 1, and No. 5 for *Mr. St. Clair's Servants.* Mr. William Ramsay and *Alexr. Johnston of Straiton* to seat No. 42 one half each. *Lord Gairdenstoun* (3) to seat No. 132, and *Mr. Andrew St. Clair* Merchant and *Bailie Walter Hamilton* to seat last possessed by *Robert Macqueen, Advocate* (4).

(3) Francis Garden of Gardenstoune took his seat on the bench as Lord Gardenstoune in 1764, and in 1776 became a Lord of Justiciary.

(4) Robert MacQueen, Lord Braxfield (1722–1799), Scottish Judge; educated at Edinburgh University; admitted advo-

cate 1744; ordinary Lord of Session as Lord Braxfield 1776; Lord of Justiciary 1780; Lord Justice-Clerk 1788; was an expert in feudal law. Cockburn[1] describes him as "strong, built and dark, with rough eye-brows, powerful eyes, threatening lips, and a low, growling voice, he was like a formidable blacksmith. His accent and his dialect were exaggerated Scotch, his language, like his thoughts, short, strong and conclusive." He domineered over prisoners, counsel and colleagues alike, and delighted in the broadest jests and most insulting taunts, "over which he would chuckle the more from observing that correct people were shocked." When Gerrald ventured to say that Christianity was an innovation, and that all great men had been reformers "even our Saviour Himself," Braxfield blasphemously replied in an undertone, "Muckle he made o' that: he was hanget."[2] He held the office of Justice-Clerk during an interesting and critical period, and "regardless of the threats and invectives of a misled populace, discharged his duties with a manly firmness of mind, well-tempered intrepidity of conduct, and a wise and faithful application of the law, that must make his memory ever be gratefully remembered by his country."

4*th December* 1765.—*Mrs. M^cLellan of Barscob* preferred to seat No. 15½, and *Mr. Solicitor Montgomery* and *Thomas Fairholme* Junior to seat No. 46.

5*th March* 1766.—*Misses Margaret, Grizel* and *Ann Carre*, daughters of the late *Lord Nisbet*[3] and *Andrew St. Clair*, Merchant, Edinburgh, preferred to seat No. 67/68, lately possessed by the said *Lord Nisbet.*

11*th June* 1766.—*Mr. Robert Whyte*, eldest son of the deceased *Dr. Robert Whyte* of *Bennochy*, late physician in Edinburgh, preferred to half of seat No. 47, lately possessed by his said father.

[1] *Memorials*, p. 113. [2] *Ibid.* p. 117. [3] See p. 305.

8th October 1766.—*Dame Helen Elliot Lady Dowager of Minto* (1) and *Mrs. Eleanor Rutherford*, widow of *Major John Rutherford*, preferred to the seat last possessed by the *Lord Justice-Clerk*.

(1) The Lady Dowager of Minto, was widow of Sir Gilbert Elliot, Baronet of Minto, who died on the 16th of April 1766. Her husband was elevated to the bench in 1726, was nominated in 1733 a Lord of Justiciary, and in 1763 was appointed Justice-Clerk. He retained both offices till his death in 1766.

Their daughter, Jean Elliot of Minto (1727–1805), was the authoress of the famous song "I've heard the lilting at our yowe-milking," bewailing the losses sustained at Flodden. Jean Elliot of Minto spent the greater part of her life (1756–1804) in Edinburgh, and during that time was a member of the Tron, as well as her brother Sir Gilbert Elliot (1722–77), third Baronet of Minto, who was the author of *Amynta*, which Sir Walter Scott called "the beautiful pastoral song."

The grandson of Sir Gilbert Eliot was created the first Earl of Minto in 1798, and the representative of their line is the present distinguished Viceroy of India.

10*th December* 1766.—*Bailie Dalrymple* preferred to seat No. $3\frac{1}{2}$.

1*st July* 1767.—*Lord Hailes* (2) preferred to seat No. $\frac{91}{92}$ lately possessed by *Provost Drummond*.

(2) Sir David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes (1726–1792), was educated at Eton and studied civil law at Utrecht. He was admitted to the Scottish Bar in 1748, and became judge of the Court of Session as Lord Hailes in 1766. He refused to revise Hume's *Enquiry*, considering its principles atheistic, 1753; he was the friend and correspondent of Dr. Johnson, who revised Hailes' *Annals of Scotland*, 1776; he was judge of the criminal court 1776, and wrote against Gibbon in 1786. Other of his works are—*An Examination of some of the Arguments for the High Antiquity of Regiam Majestatem, and an Inquiry into the Authenticity of the Leges Malcolmi*, 1769; a translation of the *Octavius* of Minucius Felix, 1781;

Ancient Scottish Poems, published from the Manuscript of George Bannatyne, 1568, 1770; and *The Canons of the Church of Scotland*, 1769.

2nd December 1767.—*Dr. Drummond* preferred to seat No. 1, and *Mr. Campbell of Auchloin* to seat No. 6.

7th December 1768.—*Mr. Home* (1) *of Ninewells* preferred to seat No. 110 last possessed by *Mr. Dougal Campbell.*

(1) Mr. Hume of Ninewells was the brother of the famous Scottish philosopher and historian, David Hume. The latter was the second son of Joseph Hume of Ninewells, in the parish of Chirnside, by Catherine, third daughter of Sir David Falconer of Newton (1640–1686), president of session in 1682. The laird, here mentioned, was David Hume's elder brother.

26th July 1769.—*John Buchan of Lethem*, Esquire, preferred to seat No. $\frac{71}{72}$.

18th July 1770.—*Mrs. Smith of Methven*, preferred to half of seat No. 2 presently possessed by *Lady Christian Carnegie* (2).

(2) Lady Christian Carnegie was the eldest daughter of David Doig of Cookstoun, and wife of Sir James Carnegie of Pittarrow and Southesk, Baronet, who died in 1765, and was survived by her for the long period of fifty-five years.

5th December 1770.—*John Tait, W.S.*, preferred to seat No. 2. *Mr. Alexander Ferguson* to seat No. 16. *John Chambers, W.S.*, to half of seat No. 24 and 25. *The Honble John Hamilton* (3) to seat No. 87, and *Mr. William Law, Advocate*, to seat No. 96½.

(3) The Honourable John Hamilton was a member of the Faculty of Advocates, and held the office of cashier to the Board of Police. He was the second son of Thomas, sixth Earl of Haddington, and married Margaret, daughter of Sir John Home of Blackadder. Their daughter, Mary, was mother of Lady Christian, who married Sir James Dalrymple of Hailes, Bart., and the famous Lord Hailes was their eldest surviving son. The Hon. John Hamilton died at Edinburgh, 11th February 1772.

4th December 1771.—*Dr. Colin Drummond* preferred to seat No. 45 last possessed by the *Lord Advocate*, and his Lordship to seat No. 133.

9th December 1772.—*Lord Monboddo* (1) preferred to seat No. 87 last possessed by the *Honble John Hamilton.*

(1) James Burnett, Lord Monboddo, was educated at Aberdeen, Edinburgh, and Groningen; in 1737 was called to the Scottish Bar, and was counsel for Mr. Douglas in the great Douglas cause. In 1764 he became Sheriff of Kincardineshire, and in 1767 was raised to the bench. He was a prominent member of the "Select Society" founded at Edinburgh in 1754 by the painter Allan Ramsay, which included such men as Sir Gilbert Elliot, Professor Hugh Blair, Lord Kames, Lord Hailes, Lord Elibank, Sir John Dalrymple, Principal Robertson, David Hume, Adam Smith, and Fergusson the poet. His *Origin and Progress of Language* (6 vols., 1773–92) is a learned, acute, but eccentric production. He also published anonymously *Ancient Metaphysics* (6 vols., 1779–99). Professor Knight says: "Perhaps the most remarkable thing about Monboddo was his anticipative wisdom, his prevision of future theories as to the origin of man, and his descent or ascent from lower types. As an atomist, he unconsciously followed Epicurus and Leucippus; while, as a virtual evolutionist, he holds an honoured place between Lucretius and Darwin. More distinctly still as an ardent advocate of the wisdom of the Ancients (especially of Plato and Aristotle)—and a champion of the Classical Languages and Literatures, as affording the best kind of culture for the modern world—his position and work are distinctive."[1]

He lived at 13 St. John Street, where Burns was a frequent guest while in Edinburgh, and at Monboddo's supper parties the best social qualities of the poet came out. Burns recognised the "beauty, grace and goodness" of Monboddo's second daughter, Eliza, who devoted herself exclusively to

[1] *Lord Monboddo and his Contemporaries*, p. 1.

her father, and celebrated her charms in his *Address to Edinburgh*, and thus commemorated her death at a later date:

"Life ne'er exulted in so rich a prize
As Burnett lovely from her native skies:
Nor envious death so triumphed in a blow,
As that which laid the accomplished Burnett low.

. . . . . .

We saw thee shine in youth and beauty's pride,
And virtue's light, that beams beyond the spheres;
But, like the sun eclipsed at morning-tide,
Thou left'st us darkling in a world of tears."

When Burns returned to Ayrshire from the first visit, his friend Geddes said to him, "Well, and did you admire the young lady?" Burns replied, "I admired God Almighty more than ever. Miss Burnett is the most heavenly of all His works." She died in 1790.

The fact that Lord Monboddo and Sir James Hunter Blair[1] (both members of the Tron) were among Burns' best Edinburgh friends, makes one think that the poet may have attended the Tron Kirk with them on Sunday. Sir Walter Scott (whose maternal grandfather was a member) was a frequent worshipper, as he himself indicates (p. 274).

Lord Monboddo saw sixty-one judges on the Bench of the Supreme Court in Scotland—twenty-seven while he was at the Bar, fourteen at his own elevation to the Bench, and twenty raised to it after him.[2] And as many of them were members of the Tron Kirk,[3] we give here the more important of them:

Archibald (third Duke of Argyll).
Lord Royston (Sir James Mackenzie).
Lord Dun (David Erskine).
John Hay (fourth Marquis of Tweeddale).
Lord Milton (Andrew Fletcher), whom Monboddo succeeded.
Lord Elchies (Patrick Grant).
Lord Kilkerran (Sir James Fergusson).

[1] See p. 316. [2] Knight, p. 46. [3] Cf. Lists.

Lord President Dundas (the first).
Duncan Forbes of Culloden.
Lord Tinwald (Charles Erskine).
Lord Glendoick (Robert Craigie), Lord President.
Lord Bankton (Andrew Macdowal).
Lord Strichen (Alexander Fraser).
Lord Kames (Henry Home).
Lord Auchinleck (Alexander Boswell).
Lord Coalston (George Brown).
Lord President Dundas (the second).
Lord Elliock (James Veitch).
Lord Gardenstoune (Francis Garden).
Lord Hailes (Sir David Dalrymple).
Sir Thomas Miller of Glenlee (afterwards Lord President).
Lord Covington (Alexander Lockhart).
Lord Braxfield (Robert M'Queen).
Sir David Rae (Lord Justice-Clerk).
Lord Swinton (John Swinton).
Sir Islay Campbell of Succoth (Lord President).
Lord Craig (Sir Francis Grant).
Lord Meadowbank the first (Allan Maconochie).
Lord Cullen (William Cullen).
Lord Polkemmet (William Baillie).

30*th June* 1773.—*Old Provost Dalrymple* preferred to seat No. 45 held by *Dr. Drummond*, who has gone to reside in England.

7*th July* 1773.—*Sir John Inglis of Cramond* preferred to seat No. 61.

27*th October* 1773.—*Colonel Campbell of Finab* preferred to seat No. 158 presently possessed by *Lady Milton.*

29*th June* 1774.—*Mr. Clephan of Carslogie* preferred to seat No. 65 last possessed by *Mr. Archibald Hart*, Merchant.

7*th December* 1774.—*William Finlayson*, Writer, to seat No. 5 last possessed by *Mrs. Hume of Bassenden.*

1*st March* 1775.—*Lady Elizabeth Wemyss* (1) preferred to seat No. 120 last possessed by the deceased *Lord Strichen.*

(1) Lady Elizabeth Wemyss was the only daughter of William, sixteenth Earl of Sutherland, and wife of the Hon. James Wemyss, fifth son of James, fourth Earl of Wemyss. The Hon. James Wemyss succeeded his father in the estate of Wemyss in 1756.

6*th December* 1775.—*Mrs. Cullen of Parkhead* preferred to seat No. 14½. *David Stewart, W.S.*, to seat No. 41. . . . . *Hamilton Esq*r *of Wishaw* to half of seat No. 47. *Professor Ferguson* to seat No. 63, and *Benjamin Bell, Surgeon* (2), to set No. 90½.

(2) Benjamin Bell (1749–1806) was a famous Edinburgh Surgeon. He was apprenticed surgeon at Dumfries ; studied medicine at Edinburgh and Paris; was appointed surgeon to Royal Infirmary, Edinburgh, in 1772, and to Watson's Hospital in 1778. He published works on agriculture and medical subjects. "Bell is much to be commended for his advocacy in saving skin in every operation, a practice till then much neglected." He lived at Niddrie's Street for many years, and died at Newington House, Edinburgh, 5th April 1806.

12*th February* 1777.—*Mrs. Pringle of Edgefield* and *John Pringle, Esqr. Advocate,* her son, preferred to seat No. 45 lately possessed by the *Lord Provost.*

18*th June* 1777.—*Dr. Adam Ferguson* (3), *Professor of Moral Philosophy, Mrs. Jean Barron* and *Matthew Sandilands,* Writer, Edinburgh, preferred to seat No. 64 part of which was formerly possessed by *Mrs. Cochran of Waterside.*

(3) Professor Adam Ferguson (1723–1816), historian and philosopher, was born at Logierait, Perthshire, where his father was minister. He was educated at Perth, St. Andrews, and Edinburgh; was present as chaplain of Black Watch at the battle of Fontenoy in 1745; he abandoned the clerical profession in 1754, and became

librarian of the Advocates' Library in 1757. He was Professor of Natural Philosophy, Edinburgh, in 1759, and of "Pneumatics and Moral Philosophy," Edinburgh, 1764–85; published an "Essay on Civil Society" in 1766, which was unfavourably regarded by Hume; he was made LL.D. in 1766, and republished his lecture notes in *Institutes of Moral Philosophy* in 1772. He was dismissed on account of absence, but was reinstated (1776) after legal proceedings. He visited Voltaire at Ferney, and was secretary to the British Commissioners at Philadelphia, 1778. He maintained the authenticity of Ossian's poems, published *History of the Progress and Termination of the Roman Republic*, 1782. He was appointed Professor of Mathematics, 1785, and published *Principles of Moral and Political Science* in 1792. He died at St. Andrews, aged ninety-three, and his eldest son, Sir Adam Ferguson, was the friend and companion of Sir Walter Scott.

Professor Adam Ferguson removed to Sciennes Hill House at the end of 1786, and here Sir Walter Scott, then a boy of fifteen, first saw Burns. A picture hanging on the wall attracted Burns' attention, and he asked, "Whose are the lines underneath?" Scott whispered to a friend, "Langhorne's," and the friend told Burns. Burns looked at Scott and said, "You'll be a man yet." This is the account of that meeting which Scott himself gave to Lockhart: "As for Burns, I may truly say, 'Virgilium vidi tantum.' I was a lad of fifteen when he came to Edinburgh. I saw him one day at the late venerable Professor Adam Ferguson's. Of course we youngsters sat silent, looked and listened. The only thing I remember which was remarkable in Burns' manner, was the effect produced upon him by a print of Bunbury's, representing a soldier lying dead on the snow, his dog sitting in misery on one side; on the other, his widow, with a child in her arms. These lines were written beneath :—

'Cold on Canadian hills, or Minden's plain,
Perhaps that parent wept her soldier slain,—

But o'er the babe, her eye dissolved in dew,
The big drops mingling with the milk he drew,
Gave the sad presage of his future years,
The child of misery baptized in tears.'

"Burns seemed much affected by the print; he actually shed tears. He asked whose the lines were, and it chanced that nobody but myself remembered that they occur in a half-forgotten poem of Langhorne's, called by the unpromising title of The Justice of Peace. I whispered my information to a friend present, who mentioned it to Burns, who rewarded me with a look and a word, which though of mere civility, I then received with very great pleasure. His person was strong and robust; his manner rustic not clownish; a sort of dignified plainness and simplicity. His countenance was more massive than it looks in any of the portraits. I would have taken the poet, had I not known who he was, for a very sagacious country farmer of the old Scotch school,—the *douce gudeman* who held his own plough. There was a strong expression of sense and shrewdness in all his lineaments; the eye alone, I think, indicated the poetical character and temperament. It was large, and of a dark cast, which glowed (I say literally glowed) when he spoke with feeling or interest. I never saw such another eye in a human head, though I have seen the most distinguished men in my time."

This old house, where Scott saw Burns, is on the north side of Braid Place, close to the Sciennes. It is divided into tenements, part of the front and the offices still remain, and on the second flat is pointed out the traditional room of the meeting, although it is now subdivided.

10*th December* 1777.—*Mr. Buchan of Kello* to one half of seat No. $\frac{67}{68}$ last possessed by *Sir John Inglis*, and *James Craig*, Baker, to seat No. 39 last possessed by *Lady Lovat*.

2*nd December* 1778.—*James Cunningham*, Baker, to seat No. 19 with one fourth thereof to *Mrs. Campbell of Aird*. *Mrs. Bruce* to one third and *Archibald Gilchrist* to one third of seat No. $\frac{35}{36}$

last possessed by *Mr. John Craigy of Kilgraston*, and *Lord Buchan* (1) to one fourth, *Mr. David Stewart* one half and *Miss Crawfurd* to one fourth part of seat No. $\frac{93}{94}$ last possessed by *John Belsches, Esquire.*

(1) Lord Buchan—Henry David Erskine, tenth Earl of Buchan, lived in Gray's Close, Edinburgh, in the Tron parish. He was the father of the Hon. Henry Erskine, of whom it was said "No poor man wanted a friend while Harry Erskine lived." The youngest son of Lord Buchan and brother of Henry was the famous Thomas Erskine, Lord Chancellor. Both these distinguished men thus attended the Tron Kirk in their early days with their father.

6th October 1779.—*Mrs. Dalrymple*, widow of *John Dalrymple, Esq.*, late *Lord Provost*, preferred to seat No. 60.

1st December 1779.—*Mrs. Fordyce* to one fourth of seat No. $\frac{93}{94}$ last possessed by the *Earl of Buchan.*

6th December 1780.—*Mrs. Hunter* preferred to seat No. 16 last possessed by *Alexander Ferguson, Esq., Advocate*, with burden of two places for *Miss Preston. Mr. Hunter of Thurston*, and failing him *Bailie Haig*, to seat No. 59 last possessed by *James Hunter Blair, Esqr. Mr. Charles Inglis* to one half of seat No. $\frac{67}{68}$ last possessed by *Mr. Buchan of Kello. Mrs. Campbell of Blythswood* to one half of seat No. $\frac{93}{94}$ last possessed by the *Lord Provost*, and *James Hunter Blair, Esq.* (2) and *Major Melvil* equally to seat No. 159 last possessed by the *Earl of Selkirk* (3).

(2) Sir James Hunter Blair (1741–1787) was born at Ayr, and in 1756 was apprenticed in the house of the brothers Coutts, bankers in Edinburgh, where he made the acquaintance of Sir William Forbes, and the two being admitted to a share in the business on the death of the senior partner of the firm, they gradually rose to the head of the copartnery. In 1781 he represented Edinburgh in Parliament and again in 1784, but on account of the claims of his professional duties, he resigned a few months afterwards. In the same

year he accepted the Lord Provostship of Edinburgh, and it was chiefly due to the energy and public spirit manifested by him during his time of office, that the improvement of Edinburgh was successfully carried out. He did much to further the rebuilding of the university, and contrived a plan for obtaining funds to erect the South Bridge over the Cowgate. Chiefly by his perseverance against opposition, the scheme was successfully carried out, and thus a convenient communication was opened up between the southern suburbs and the City. He died in 1787, and was buried in Greyfriars' Churchyard. He held the appointment of King's printer, and Hunter Square and Blair Street—both adjacent to the Tron Kirk—are named after him. Robert Burns wrote an elegy on his death, and states, "the last time I saw the worthy, public-spirited man, he pressed my hand, and asked me with the most friendly warmth if it was in his power to serve me." In a letter to Robert Aiken of Ayr, enclosing the poem, Burns wrote "that I have lost a friend is but repeating after Caledonia."

(3) This Earl of Selkirk was evidently Dunbar Hamilton of Baldoon, who was born in 1722, succeeded his father in 1742, and on the death of John, Earl of Selkirk and Ruglen in 1744, succeeded as heir-male to the Earldom of Selkirk, on which occasion he assumed the paternal name of Douglas. His Lordship's studious disposition induced him to remain several years at the University of Glasgow, where he was the friend of the celebrated Dr. Hutcheson, for whose opinions he retained throughout life a warm admiration.

5*th December* 1781.—*Lady Lovat* (1)* preferred to half of seat No. 90 last possessed by *Thomas Aitken*. *Bailie James Haig* to seat No. 120 with three seats to *Miss Scott* and *Miss Buchanan* last possessed by *Lady Elizabeth Wemyss*, and *Mrs. Ker of Littledean* and *Baron Norton* (2)* equally to seat No. 157 last possessed by *Baron Maule*.

* (1) and (2) next page.

(1) Lady Lovat was the second wife of Simon, twelfth Lord Lovat. She was married to Lord Lovat in 1733, and was the fifth daughter of the Hon. John Campbell of Mamore, sister of John, fourth Duke of Argyll, and died at Edinburgh 1796, aged eighty-six. Her husband, Lord Lovat, was executed on Towerhill, 9th April 1747, for his complicity in the '45 Rebellion, and his estate and honours were forfeited to the Crown.

(2) Baron Fletcher, a baron of the Exchequer in Scotland, was son of Fletcher Norton, first Baron Grantley (1716–1789), who, in the satires and caricatures of the day, was usually nicknamed "Sir Bull-face Double Fee."

26*th December* 1781.—Read letter from *Baron Norton* complaining of the Magistrates having broken their promise to give him the first vacant seat in the Tron Church and stating that "I consider the offer of *Half* of *Mr. Baron Maule's* seat as an additional insult and therefore return your warrant." The Magistrates declare their ignorance of any such promise and find there is no record of any *English Baron* or *Chief Baron*, of the *Church of England* persuasion, applying for or possessing the favor of a free seat in any of the Established Churches of the City, although *Chief Baron Ord* took a seat for his Presbyterian servants and paid rent for it. *The Lord Justice Clerk*, *Baron Gordon* and several other *Judges* having only half seats the Council cannot consider the offer to *Baron Norton* of a half seat as an insult and therefore resolve to let the seat to another.

(1) Robert Ord or Orde was chief Baron of the Scottish Exchequer, and his daughter, Elizabeth, married Robert Macqueen, Lord Braxfield.

11*th December* 1782.—*Major Morison* to two twelfth parts of a seat No. $\frac{22}{23}$ last possessed by *Doctor Langlands*. *Miss Brodie* to three places and *Mr. Home of Ninewells*[1] to two places in the half of seat No. $\frac{25}{26}$ last possessed by *Archd. Gilchrist*, and Lady Dunbar to half of seat No. 157 last possessed by *Robert Oliphant, Esqr.*

17*th December* 1783.—*Mrs. Scot of Synton* to one fourth of seat

THE HIGH STREET IN 1793.

After DAVID ALLAN.

No. $\frac{24}{25}$. *Mr. Erskine of Dunn* (1) to seat No. 56 and *Captain James Hamilton* to seat No. 65.

(1) John Erskine of Dun was the son of David Erskine of Dun, one of the Senators of the College of Justice.

17*th December* 1794.—The Committee to whom it was remitted to consider the several Applications for, and to set the seats in the several Churches of the City produced a Report signed by the Lord Provost which was read and approved of.

11*th June* 1817.—The Council grant "to the *Marquis of Tweedale* and *Earl of Lauderdale* the two front Gallery Seats in the Tron Church opposite to the Pulpit, the two seats immediately behind these and the two backmost Seats, for the accommodation of their servants instead of the seats which these noblemen had previous to the Church being repaired."

17*th July* 1822.—Intimation from the *Lord President* that the Judges of the Court of Session have agreed to waive their privilege of holding free Seats in the City Churches. The Council also resolve to abolish all free seats excepting those granted to Clergymen.

CHAPTER XI

CHURCH PLATE, WINDOWS, ETC.

COMMUNION TOKENS USED IN EDINBURGH CITY PARISH CHURCHES.

The illustration shows the obverse and reverse of one of those civic Tokens; R.J.D.G. stands for Robert Johnston, Dean of Guild. (From Shiells' *Story of the Token.*)

CHURCH PLATE.

CHAPTER XI

CHURCH PLATE, WINDOWS, ETC.

Church Plate

(1) THE two oldest silver communion cups bear each the following inscription :—

"Gifted to God and His Church by George Fowlis, Younger,
To the South-East Parish of Edinburgh, 1633."

Renewed by the Council of Edinburgh, 1756.

(2) Two other silver cups bear each this inscription :

"South-East Quarter of Edinburgh, 1640."

Renewed by the Council of Edinburgh, 1756.

The following description of the first set of cups is given by Dr. Burns in his *Old Scottish Communion Plate*,[1] but the description equally applies to the second set—all four having been identically renewed in 1756 :—

"The Tron, Edinburgh, 1633 and 1756. Diameter of bowl, $6\frac{3}{16}$ inches; depth of bowl, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches; height, $10\frac{1}{4}$ inches; diameter of foot, $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches. They bear the Edinburgh Hall-mark for 1755–56, which fixes the date for the renewal of these cups. The goldsmiths who renewed them were Lothian and Robertson, whose name-punch they bear. In their original form it is very probable that the bowls were large and mazer-shaped—similar in every respect to those provided for other parishes in Edinburgh about the same time, and

[1] Pp. 347, 348.

which are preserved in their original form, as, for example, Old Greyfriars and Trinity College."

(3) Regarding the earlier silver baptismal vessels, Dr. Burns gives the following accurate description :[1]—

"The baptismal vessels belonging to this church are very plain. The laver, which measures 11⅛ inches high, bears the inscription :

"'Gifted to god and hif church of the south-east parish of Edinbruch by some wel affected their, Anno 1633.'

"On the basin, which is 17 inches in diameter, there is engraved the Scripture text :

"'He That Beleiveth And Is Baptized Shall Be Saved.'

"On the back of the basin :

"'Gifted To God And His Church of the South East Parish of Edinbrugh By Some Well Affected Their, 1682.'

"It will be noted that the laver is much older than the basin. It bears the Edinburgh Hall-mark, and the maker's initials of Thomas Kirkwood admitted 1606, and deacon 1615–17, 1621–23, 1633–35. The basin also has the Edinburgh Hall-mark, but bears the maker's initials of Andrew Law, supposed to have been admitted about 1673, the punch of John Borthwick, assaymaster 1681–97, and the date-letter for 1682–83. Whether in 1682 the basin was renewed and bears the date of its renewal, or was presented to take the place of another, there is no evidence."

(4) Baptismal basin and laver made from the old Tron bell melted in the fire of 1824.

The basin is oblong in form, with reeded-mount and with round-shaped corners—15 inches by 12 inches.

The laver is 12 inches in height, with fluted pedestal and body ; the handle resting and springing from an escallop shell. Both articles are made of nickel.

(5) Two new silver cups with the following inscription :

"Gifted by Alexander Greig to the Tron Kirk, Edinburgh, 1895."

[1] Pp. 519, 520.

CHURCH PLATE.

In the interior of the base of these two cups is the following inscription :—

"To Alex. Greig, Elder in the Tron Kirk from the children of the Congregation in recognition of his services in the Children's Church and Sunday School during a period of 35 years Oct. 1895.

"DAVID MORRISON, *Minister.*

"HYPOLITE W. CORNILLON, *Session-Clerk.*"

(6) There are three brass collection plates :

(*a*) is 22 inches in diameter ; has centre-embossed figures of Adam and Eve ; has engraved :

"Gifted to the Tron Church by George Swan Beadle There, 1745."

(*b*) is a similar collection dish—19 inches in diameter—has embossed centre, which is very much worn ; it is similarly engraved as (*a*).

(*c*) is a dish, 17 inches in diameter, with centre-embossed representation of Prussian double eagle ; has engraved :

"Gifted to the Tron Church by the Rev. Mr. James Wingate, 1745."

All three dishes are embossed in old Dutch style on rim.[1]

(7) There are also two large pewter plates with the inscriptions :

"South-East Kirk, 1723."

(8) There are four pewter wine-flagons each with the inscription :

"For the use of the Holy Sacrament of our Lord's Supper in the South-East parioch of Edinburgh, 1688."

STAIN-GLASS WINDOWS

(1) In the east and west gable walls there are deeply coloured glass windows representing the leading events in the Life of our Lord, and gifted by the congregation. One of the divisions is a memorial to the Rev. Dr. John Hunter, Minister of the Tron (1832–1866).

[1] I am much indebted for help in this to Baillie Inches, Princes Street, Edinburgh.

(2) At the north-west corner there are windows with the inscription :

"In Memory of Rev. William C. E. Jamieson, B.A., aged 41, Minister of the Tron Kirk 1876–1881."

(3) There are also stain-glass windows (three on south side of church under gallery) with the following inscriptions :—

"In Memory of Robert Mowat, Elder of Tron Church :
Born 13 Aug. 1843 : Died 9 June 1896."

"In Memory of James Simson, M.D., Elder of Tron Church 1860–1875 :
Born 25 Aug. 1795 : Died 8 Mar. 1876."

"In Memory of Hypolite William Cornillon, Elder and Session-Clerk of Tron Church 1860–1897."

On 14th March 1893 Mr. and Mrs. Cornillon received suitable acknowledgments of their devotion to the Tron, and in making the presentations, the Rev. Mr. Morrison said of Mr. Cornillon : "For thirty-seven years you have been a member of the Tron Church, and intimately and actively associated with its history and its work. In all its vicissitudes and through all its varying fortunes you have chivalrously adhered to it ; its well-being has been ever dear to your heart, your faith in its usefulness unaffected, and your endeavour to maintain its efficiency unsparing and unrelaxed. . . . As a Sunday-School Teacher, as Session-Clerk, as an Elder for thirty-three years, in connection with the election of a minister on several occasions, your labours have been manifold. To the success of one of the Church agencies—the Industrial School for Girls, which was carried on for so many years to the great benefit of the Parish and district—you, by your influence, your generous support, and your kindness to the teachers, very largely contributed. To you the Church is indebted, directly or indirectly, for bequests and gifts made for the maintenance of the benevolent agencies which it carries on." Mrs. Cornillon is still a devoted, active, and honoured member and office-bearer—her interest being notably in the Women's Work Society, of which she is the president.

The Tron Hall at 14 Niddrie Street has been beautifully

decorated by Miss MacGibbon (daughter of the late distinguished Scottish architect). Her labours there have extended over several years, and the old Hall has now a mediæval air about it. From the Report of the Edinburgh Social Union we are able to give her own description of the work :[1]

"The scheme of subjects chosen for the paintings was taken from the Acts of the Apostles, as it was considered typical of the practical missionary work for which the building is used.

"The central idea is that of the Pentecostal gift, and it is represented by a picture of the Descent of the Holy Ghost. St. Peter stands in the centre, and is identified by his crossed keys, while the other apostles and the Blessed Virgin are grouped round, some of them also distinguished by their symbols. The border below is of lilies and peonies, which are called in some places 'Pentecost Lilies'; and in it are medallions, the centre one representing our Lord sending out His Holy Spirit in the form of a dove ; while on one side is the castle from the Edinburgh coat-of-arms, and on the other the burning bush of the Church of Scotland. On either side are two angels holding censers.

"On the side walls are scenes from the ministries of St. Peter and St. John on the one side, and St. Paul, with his companions, on the other. St. Paul is represented as saying farewell to his friends. His ship is seen waiting in the distance, and he is accompanied by St. Luke and St. Barnabas. In the next panel is an angel bearing a sword, the emblem of St. Paul. Then follows a picture of St. Luke, writing the opening sentence of the Book of Acts: 'The former treatise have I made, O Theophilus.' His symbol, the winged ox, is above his head, and his painter's palette is at his feet. Next to him is St. Mark represented as Bishop of Alexandria, with a suggestion in the background of the harbour and lighthouse, for which the town was famous. The winged lion is lying at his feet. In the round medallion above is the Paschal Lamb, symbolising the Resurrection of our Lord, as the central doctrine of the apostles'

[1] *Report*, November 1905, pp. 7–9.

teaching. The baptism of the Ethiopian by St. Philip follows to illustrate the first step in the religious life.

"On the other side of the central Pentecost picture are scenes from the ministry of St. Peter and St. John. The first is the healing of the lame man at the Beautiful gate of the temple. Next to this is a narrow panel with an angel bearing a chalice, the symbol of St. John. Then follows another illustration of the miracles of St. Peter and St. John: 'They brought forth the sick into the streets, that at the least the shadow of Peter passing by might overshadow some of them.' Next to this is the raising of Dorcas, which is divided into two panels, one of St. Peter praying by the deathbed, and the other of the weeping friends. The next panel of St. Peter imprisoned and guarded by two soldiers, represents the persecution of the Church.

"On the north wall are two illustrations from the life of St. Stephen. In the lower panel he is represented preaching before the Sanhedrim, while above is the scene of the martyrdom. On either side is a small group of young men preparing to stone him, with Saul of Tarsus keeping watch. St. Stephen is kneeling alone in the centre with his eyes fixed upon the beatific vision in the opened heavens. So the cycle ends with a beginning, the birthday of one 'of those who are first born being dead.'"

New Year's Eve at the Tron Kirk

Throughout the Middle Ages and down to the period of the Reformation, the festival of Christmas, ingrafted on the pagan rites of Yule, continued throughout Christendom to be universally celebrated with every mark of rejoicing. After the Reformation, the Lutheran and Anglican Churches retained the celebration of Christmas and other festivals, which Calvinists rejected absolutely, denouncing the observance of all such days, except Sunday, as superstitious and unscriptural. The tendency to mirth and jollity at the close of the year was in North Britain transferred from Christmas and Christmas Eve to New Year's Day and the preceding evening, known as Hogmanay. This annual saturnalia bore, in the licence

and boisterous merriment which used to prevail, a most unmistakable resemblance to its pagan namesake. "The epithet of the Daft Days, applied to the season of the New Year in Scotland, indicates very expressively the uproarious joviality which characterised the period in question. This exuberance of joyousness—which, it must be admitted, sometimes led to great excesses—has now much declined, but New Year's Eve and New Year's Day constitute still the great national holiday in Scotland."[1]

Around the Tron Kirk, thousands of people gather on New Year's Eve, and when the hands of the clock reach twelve, the New Year is received with great cheering—so loud that on a calm evening it is heard at Morningside and Inverleith Row. These celebrations point back to ancient precursors in the old market-place of Edinburgh, and are survivals of pagan celebrations prior to the time when St. Cuthbert and his followers preached the gospel around the Castle Rock. Much boisterousness is exhibited, and first-footing is afterwards engaged in, but a watch-night service in the Tron, instituted by the Rev. Dr. Archibald Fleming, now of St. Columba's, London, and continued by his successor, is well attended by the more thoughtful part of the crowd, and the occasion is rightfully made one of religious consecration. The last occasion (31st December 1905) happened to be on a Sunday, and the church was densely packed with worshippers. If it could have admitted more, it would have been packed thrice again, and a pleasing testimony of the genuine religious instincts at the heart of the people was given. The duty of the Church is to consecrate such celebrations with a deeper meaning and purpose, and in this respect the watch-night service signally succeeds. It helps to transform a Mecca of midnight rejoicers into a religious festival.

A Royal Message to the Children of the Tron Parish

In connection with the first State Visit of the King and Queen to Edinburgh in May 1903, the children of the Tron Parish erected

[1] *Book of Days*, ii. 788.

a blue banner from the east gable of the Tron Kirk across the street, and under it the Royal Carriage passed on two occasions (on Monday evening, 11th May, on the way to Dalkeith Palace, and on Tuesday on the State Entry into the City). The banner bore the inscription "Welcome to the King and Queen from the Children of the Tron Kirk." The King and Queen graciously sent the following message to the children through Lord Balfour of Burleigh, Secretary for Scotland, and it gave endless satisfaction to the children and parents in the parish, which includes the poorest part of the town :—

"Dalkeith House,
"Dalkeith, *May* 15, 1903.

"Dear Mr. Butler,—I duly received your letter of the 13th inst. last night.

"I took an opportunity of mentioning both to the King and the Queen the history of the banner which was suspended over the street from the gable of the Tron Church. I am commanded to say that the information was received by their Majesties both with interest and with pleasure.—I am, Sir, Faithfully Yours,

"(Signed) Balfour of Burleigh.

"The Rev. D. Butler."

We thus draw our Tron History to the close, and express the hope that no City "Improvement" Scheme will ever remove this venerable Kirk, so intimately wrapt up with the history of the Scottish Capital and with noble service to the Scottish people. It is a temple of holy memories, surrounded by the cloud of witnesses : it has deserved well of the City it has served and is still serving ; it is the Church of our fathers, and ought to be dear for the fathers' sakes. May its old walls ever be preserved and resound for centuries to the voice of prayer and of psalm : may its earnest work continue and its attached people pass their spirit from their children to their children's children ! It is part of old Edinburgh, and the citizens have already been deprived of too many of their old monuments to permit this venerable one to pass.

CHAPTER XII

MEETINGS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND IN THE TRON KIRK

centre are removed to afford accommodation for the Moderator's chair, the Clerk's table, etc., and a number of temporary forms, with backs, are placed around in the space not otherwise occupied. The throne is placed in front of the pulpit, which, along with the pulpit stairs, are concealed by handsome drapery of a purplish colour. The whole presents a very elegant and agreeable appearance."

Regarding the Assembly of 1831, the *Courant* of Saturday, 21st May 1831, states:

"The General Assembly of our National Church met on Thursday in the Tron Church, which has been fitted up similarly to what it was last year. Though the Church seems tolerably well adapted for the accommodation of the Reverend assemblage, there is much difficulty in hearing the speakers in any part except the very centre."

The General Assembly Minutes for 1832, 1834, 1836, 1837, 1838, 1839, 1840, explicitly use the term "Tron Church," and not the generic term "Assembly House," as the place of meeting, and in every case the *Courant* evidence corroborates it. Thus the statement in the *Courant* for 16th May 1832 is typical of the others:—

"After Sermon in the High Church, his Grace and retinue returned in procession to the Tron Church, where the Assembly was opened in due form."

Regarding 1833 the Record of the General Assembly states the place of meeting as "New Aisle," while regarding 1835 it states it as "Assembly House." The *Courant* contains the following information:—

1833: 16*th May*.—"After Divine Service the Lord High Commissioner with his attendants proceeded to the "New Assembly House," where the General Assembly met and was constituted."

. . . *Monday*, 20*th May*.—"The Assembly having on Saturday resolved to abandon the premises fitted up for their accommodation, met this day at 12 o'clock in the West Church of St. Giles (Mr. Marshall's)."

1835: 21*st May*.—"After an eloquent sermon by Dr. Patrick

THE HIGH STREET, WITH COMMISSIONER'S PROCESSION.

MacFarlane, Moderator of the last General Assembly, from John 18. 37, his Grace proceeded to the Tron Church to open the Assembly in due form."

Thus with the evidence of the *Courant* (containing the Reports), the General Assembly Records, and the Tron Kirk Session Memorial before us, we can construct the following accurate table (leaving 1833 as uncertain) :—

Date.	Place.	Moderator.	Commissioner.
1830	Tron Church.	William Singer, D.D., Kirkpatrick-Juxta.	James Ochonchar, Lord Forbes.
1831	Tron Church.	James Wallace, D.D., Whitekirk.	Robert Montgomery Hamilton, Lord Belhaven and Stenton.
1832	Tron Church.	Thomas Chalmers, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Divinity, Edinburgh.	Lord Belhaven and Stenton.
1833	"New Aisle" (?)	John Stirling, D.D., Craigie.	do.
1834	Tron Church.	Patrick MacFarlane, D.D., Greenock.	do.
1835	Tron Church.	William Aird Thomson, D.D., Perth.	do.
1836	Tron Church.	Norman MacLeod, D.D., Glasgow.	do.
1837	Tron Church.	Matthew Gardiner, D.D., Bothwell.	do.
1838	Tron Church.	William Muir, D.D., LL.D., Edinburgh.	do.
1839	Tron Church.	Henry Duncan, D.D., Ruthwell.	do.
1840	Tron Church.	Angus Makellar, D.D., Pencaitland.	do.

It may be interesting to recall several of the outstanding facts regarding these Assemblies, which met in the Tron Kirk.

1831. The Commission as elder from the Burgh of Annan in favour of the Rev. Edward Irving was rejected because he was in a ministerial charge, and the saintly John MacLeod Campbell, "the last prophet whom the Church of Scotland stoned,"[1] was deposed

[1] Principal Sharpe.

from the holy ministry for maintaining the universality of Christ's Atonement.

The proceedings in John MacLeod Campbell's case began on Tuesday, 24th May, and the decision was pronounced before the house adjourned, at a quarter-past six the following morning. Only 125 members voted, out of an Assembly of more than 300, and the sentence of deposition was carried by a majority of 119 to 6. 310 members voted at the election of the Procurator on the 19th—consequently 185 did not vote for either of the motions. The "Full Report of the Proceedings" states, "a few who were present declined voting, and we observed some present who did not answer to their names when the roll was called; but the great proportion were absent."[1] Dr. Chalmers stated to Campbell, "the Moderation is not half so excited against you as the Evangelicals."[2]

It was thus in the Tron that MacLeod Campbell witnessed for the Universality of Christ's Cross, and that the Assembly ejected one of her most saintly sons. It was within its old walls that his venerable father, the Rev. Dr. Campbell of Kilninver, thus spoke of his son:

"It was certainly what I never expected, that a motion on your table for his deposition should have come from my old friend Dr. Cook, but I do not stand here to deprecate your wrath. I bow to any decision to which you may think it right to come. Moderator, I am not afraid for my son, though his brethren cast him out, the Master, whom he serves, will not forsake him; and while I live I will never be ashamed to be the father of so holy and blameless a son. Indeed, Sir, in these respects, I challenge any one in this house to bring forward any who can come into competition with him."

It is most interesting to recall that Dr. Thomas Chalmers was Moderator in the year 1832, when the Assembly met in the Tron, and Dr. Wilson states the following regarding Dr. Candlish:—"It was in the General Assembly 1839 that Mr. Candlish made his first

[1] P. 178. [2] *Memorials*, p. 78.

public speech. It was towards the close of a long and keen debate, when he rose in one of the back benches of the Tron Church where the Assembly was then held, etc."[1]

The ministers were recommended at the Assembly of 1832 to help the New Statistical Account of Scotland, and the Presbytery of Annan was ordered to deal with the case of Edward Irving, and deposed him the same year. His defence of himself on this occasion was one of the most splendid and sublime efforts of oratory. The majority of his Regent Square congregation adhered to him, and gradually a new form of Christianity was developed (Catholic Apostolic Church), commonly known as Irvingism, though Irving had really very little to do with its development. He died at Glasgow, 8th December 1834, in his forty-second year.

At the Assembly of 1834 in the Tron, amid the keen controversies of the period, the ministers of Chapels of Ease were declared to be members of Presbytery, and the historical Veto Act was passed.

The Assembly of 1835 appointed within the Tron the Church Extension Committee, of which Dr. Thomas Chalmers was made Convener, and Dr. Duff, the famous missionary, addressed the House. When a student at St. Andrews, he was powerfully influenced by Dr. Chalmers, and in 1829 was ordained the first Church of Scotland missionary to India. On the passage out he was twice shipwrecked, and did not reach Calcutta till May 1830. He commenced his mission work on an entirely new plan, freely opening up Western science and learning to the natives of India as well as imparting purely religious teaching—a movement which opened up a new era in the social history of India. Amid opposition and misapprehension, his great work advanced and his College flourished, but his enthusiastic and restless energy wore him out, and he returned to Scotland in 1834 invalided. It is a joy to record that in 1835 he addressed the General Assembly in the Tron. In 1840 he went back to India, to find his College flourishing, with an attendance of between six and seven hundred

[1] *Memorials of R. S. Candlish*, p. 78.

students. At the Disruption in 1843, he and the other missionaries cast in their lot with the Free Church. He died in 1878, leaving his money to found a missionary lectureship.

The Assembly of 1836 appointed the Colonial Committee in the Tron, and Principal MacFarlane was made its first Convener. In this year the Lord High Commissioner lived for the first time in Holyrood.

In 1837 the Assembly within the Tron petitioned Parliament for the endowment of the newly erected churches, and it was reported that the ancient records of the Church had been destroyed when the Houses of Parliament had been burned.

In 1838 the Assembly within the Tron appointed the Jewish Committee, and in 1839 it was reported to the Assembly that the number of probationers was 700.

In 1840 the Assembly within the Tron appointed a Committee to provide ordinances in the parishes of ministers in the Presbytery of Strathbogie who were suspended by the Commission.

Such were some of the important events, with far-reaching consequences, that took place when the General Assembly met in the Tron Kirk, but the mention of the Veto Act and Strathbogie Presbytery lead us to recall that it was also the period of the Ten Years' Conflict. After the Memorial of the Tron Kirk Session to the Town Council of Edinburgh[1] against granting the Tron any longer for meetings of Assembly, the Supreme Court met in 1841. 1842, and 1843 within St. Andrew's Parish Church, Edinburgh. The Memorial of Session evidently contained a dislike to the stormy debates of the period within their church, as well as a protest against the damage arising from frequent alteration of their pews. But for this, the General Assembly would have in all probability been granted the use of the Tron for these years, and in that case the memorable procession of 1843 would have been across the North Bridge to Tanfield Hall, instead of from St. Andrew's Church, where it started.

[1] See p. 288.

CHAPTER XIII

JOHN RUSKIN'S GRANDFATHER A MERCHANT AT THE WEST OF THE TRON KIRK

CHAPTER XIII

JOHN RUSKIN'S GRANDFATHER[1] A MERCHANT AT THE WEST OF THE TRON KIRK

IN Williamson's *Edinburgh Directory*, 1786–88, there is a "John Ruskin, grocer, head of Kennedy's Close." This Kennedy's Close was immediately to the west of the Tron Kirk, and was adjacent to the west side of the present Hunter Square. The shop was, in fact, on the ground flat of the tenement, behind or in which the famous George Buchanan died.[2] Probably some changes in the district consequent on the formation of the South Bridge had led to John Ruskin's removal, and in 1790–92 there is "John Ruskin, head of Morrison's Close," which was in the High Street on the north side, half-way between Leith Wynd and North Bridge Street. In the *Directories* of 1793–94 and of 1794–96 he is described as "opposite Blackfriars' Wynd"—the same locality as Morrison's Close.

The old Edinburgh merchant seems to have been prosperous in his business, for in 1800 there is "John Ruskin, merchant, 15 St. James Square," which was in the new town of Edinburgh, across the North Bridge. In 1801–03 there is the same address; in 1805 there is this variation, "John Russken, agent, 14 James Square"; in 1806, "John Rusken," same address; in 1808–09 it is "John Rusken, 15 St. James Square," and afterwards the name disappears.

[1] My attention was first drawn to this by Robert Cochrane, Esq., 47 Morningside Drive, Edinburgh.

[2] See p. 52.

This formed a biographical link, and in order to prove it I consulted first Collingwood's *Life and Work of John Ruskin*,[1] where it is said regarding Ruskin of Edinburgh, "he was in the wine-trade in Edinburgh and lived in the old Town at the head of George Wynd, then a respectable neighbourhood. They (the family) belonged to the upper middle-class, with cultivated tastes and comfortable surroundings, highly connected, and entertaining, among others, such a man as Dr. Thomas Brown, the professor of philosophy, a great light in his own day, and still conspicuous in the constellation of Scotch metaphysicians.

"Their son, John James Ruskin (born 10th May 1785), was sent to the famous High School of Edinburgh, under Dr. Adam, the most renowned of Scottish headmasters; and there he received the sound old-fashioned classical education . . . Some time before the beginning of 1807, John James, having finished his education at the High School, went out to seek his fortune in London. He was followed by a kind letter from Dr. Thomas Brown, who advised him to keep up his Latin and to study Political Economy; for the Professor looked upon him as a young man of unusual promise and power."

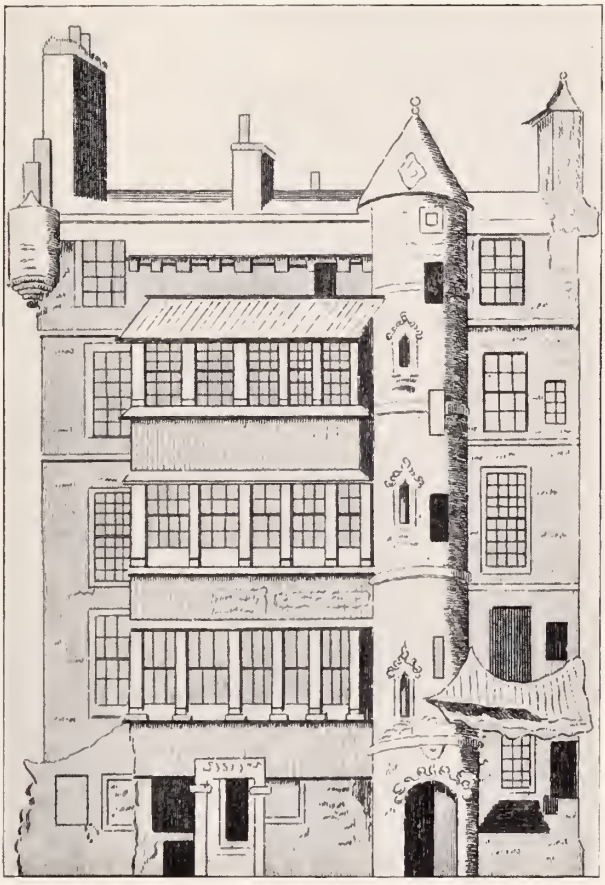
To corroborate this testimony regarding the father of the famous author of *Modern Painters*, I examined the Register of Births in the Register House, Edinburgh, and found the following entry on 27th May 1785:—

"John Thomas Risken, Merchant, and Katherine Tweedale his Spouse, Old Kirk Parish, a son born 10th current named John James. Witnesses, Robert Stewart, Grocer, and William White, Iron Monger, Edinburgh."

The name is here spelt "Risken," but another birth-entry on 5th December 1783 exhibits the same variation in spelling as the *Directories* just quoted. It there appears as "Rusken."

"John Thomas Rusken, Grocer, and Catherine Tweedale his

[1] Vol. i. pp. 7–9.



"THE HOUSE AT EDINBURGH, WHERE MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS WAS CONFINED."

Probably "Lord Home's Lodging," to west of Tron.

Spouse, Old Kirk Parish, a daughter born 20th November named Janet. Witness Alexander Manners, Grocer. Baptized by Rev. Dr. Henry."

This evidence settles the fact that John Ruskin's grandfather, after whom he was evidently named, was an Edinburgh merchant and had his place of business a little to the west of the present Tron Kirk, and adjacent to the spot where the old Tron weighing-beam was situated. His son, John James Ruskin, married his cousin Margaret Cox, and their child became the renowned John Ruskin, whose name and work will endure as long as the English language.

John Ruskin says in his *Præterita*: "Of my father's ancestors I know nothing, nor of my mother's more than that my maternal grandmother was the landlady of the old King's Head, in Market Street, Croydon." We are told much about his mother's relations, but all will sympathise with the regret he expresses of being "stupidly and heartlessly careless of the past history of my family as long as I could have learnt it."

Catherine Tweedale, paternal grandmother of John Ruskin, and wife of the Edinburgh merchant, was the daughter of the Rev. James Tweedale, parish minister of Glenluce, who was ordained 10th August 1758, married 26th September 1759, and died 6th May 1777, in his forty-fourth year. It is thus noteworthy that the teacher of righteousness as the only basis of society, and of religious faith as the only genuine inspiration of art, was himself the great-grandson of a minister of the Church of Scotland.[1] Perhaps he who preached so much of goodness "being in the blood," and who even asserted that a bad person who had a good musical voice, owed it to the virtue of some ancestor, may himself have been more moulded than he was aware of, by some hereditary idealism, which had its origin in the Scottish Manse. Could there be a more likely source in the providential ordering of lives, for Ruskin's own native goodness or

[1] Cf. with Sir Walter Scott, pp. 172, 173.

of the principle which he taught throughout his life: "I have had but one steady aim in all that I have ever tried to teach, namely, to declare that whatever was great in human art was the expression of man's delight in God's work"?[1]

Mr. Collingwood refers to other distinctive features in John Ruskin's personality, and states: "Ruskin is not only Scottish, but Jacobite. . . . It must be an old Scottish trait that comes out, too, in his devotion to France and the French, in spite of a free criticism of them: an Englishman with his tastes would have been more at home among the ancient Greeks or the modern Italians: a Scot of the other party, like Carlyle, loved the Germans. . . . There is not only the Scot and the Jacobite, but something of the Highland Celt, in Ruskin . . . he exemplifies the 'recrudescence of the Celt.'"[2]

On these points, perhaps, some hereditary influence is indicated by a paper in the *Celtic Review* (for April 1906, by Alexander Carmichael, Esq.), in which the Ruskin family are traced to Muckairn, which lies along the shore of Loch Etive, and is a long wide district rich in agricultural and pastoral land. A family of the MacCalmans of Barraglas had a tanning house down on the bank of the Neannt River, immediately below the present railway station of Tigh-an-uillt. From their occupation the family of MacCalmans, who had the tannery, had to bark trees for tanning purposes. Hence they were known throughout the district as na Rusgain, na Rusgairean, the "peelers," "the bark peelers," and Clann Rusgain, "the bark peeling family," losing their clan name in their occupation name, like many other men and families throughout the Highlands.

This native industry was killed out about 1750 by an English company who established an iron-smelting foundry at Bunawe. But previous to this the Earl of Argyll went to meet the Earl of Mar in 1715, and took with him all the available men of the country. Probably several of the Muckairn Ruskins went, but at least one joined the Earl. He was severely wounded at the

[1] *The Two Paths*, p. 48.

[2] *Life and Work of John Ruskin*, vol. i. pp. 4–6.

battle of Sheriffmuir, and his comrades carried him from the field to a farmhouse, where, being a young man of good presence, ability, and manners, he was hospitably entertained and nursed. "And if every person was good to him, the daughter of the house was specially so. She was watching him by day and night till she brought him home from death. Then MacRuskin from Muckairn and the daughter of the farmer in the sheriffdom of Perth married. Old people were saying that this son of Ruskin betook him to the accustomed work with which he was acquainted, in the town of Perth." Ruskin never came back again to Muckairn, except to see his people.

Says Mr. Carmichael: "From this Ruskin of Muckairn and his wife John Ruskin was descended. Of this descent the late Clerks of Duntannachan, Glenlonain, a scholarly intelligent family, of whom the Rev. Archibald Clerk, LL.D., Kilmallie, was one, had no doubt whatever, and they knew the whole history of the Ruskin family. John Ruskin himself has told us that his grandfather[1] came from Perth, but he could not go back beyond his grandfather. When the writer informed him of the further tradition regarding his family and descent Mr. Ruskin was keenly interested."[2]

[1] The Edinburgh merchant.

[2] *Celtic Review*, vol. ii. p. 346.

CHAPTER XIV

REMINISCENCES OF HIS MINISTRY IN THE TRON PARISH, BY THE VERY REV. DR. JAMES MACGREGOR, ST. CUTHBERT'S PARISH, EDINBURGH

CHAPTER XIV

REMINISCENCES OF HIS MINISTRY IN THE TRON PARISH, BY THE VERY REV. DR. JAMES MACGREGOR, ST. CUTHBERT'S PARISH, EDINBURGH

IN compliance with the request of the Rev. Mr. Butler to write a chapter on the Tron during my incumbency from 9th January 1868 till 2nd November 1873, I shall deal first with the Parish and its working, and then with the Church and its services. There are only two Tron Parishes in the world—one in Glasgow, the other in Edinburgh. It has been my happy lot to be, in succession, minister of both. On a beautiful summer day in 1867, along with a leading clergyman of Glasgow, I was on board a steamer on our way to one of the beautiful watering-places on the Clyde, where my family was staying, and where my friend was to be for some days our guest. I handed him a letter which I had received that morning, conveying a unanimous invitation to the Tron Parish Church, Edinburgh. My friend, who had been a minister in both cities, read the letter, and then, with a solemn voice, said to me, "My young friend, I must congratulate you on the honour which has been done you, but I must at the same time warn you that a man may be a great success in Glasgow and a great failure in Edinburgh." In the face of that warning I made the venture. On my first or second visit to Balmoral after my induction I found the Queen much interested and, I thought, not a little amused at the

fact that there were two Trons in Scotland, and that I had been minister of both. Her keen intellect would never be satisfied till she had probed to the bottom the subject which occupied her attention, and many questions were put to me about the Tron, its origin and meaning, which I answered to the best of my ability.

The Parish to which I was inducted, in succession to the Rev. Maxwell Nicholson, was unique in many ways—in its history as this book clearly shows, unique as being in the heart of the city and the smallest parish in Edinburgh, and as being, in the words of my first Pastoral Letter, "one of the blackest spots on earth." It was a dense block of buildings intersected by lanes so narrow that the tall houses almost touched each other, leaving a mere chink through which the heavens were seen. It would have been difficult to find anywhere an equal amount of filth, ignorance, and crime within an area equally small. There was one single tenement in Blackfriars Wynd which, a few years before, had been the scene of more than one murder. Within my first year that black Wynd, Murdoch's Close, Skinner's Close, and Toddrick's Wynd were in the process of being swept away, through the operations of the City Improvement Trust.

The Parish swarmed with the most pitiable of all God's creatures, neglected girls. Born and reared in the midst of squalor, improvidence, destitution, and too often of crime, many of them, ere they had passed the term of girlhood, bore the ineffaceable marks of ruin and shame. It was to seize hold of such at the very outset of life, to bring them under Christian influence, to give them a sound education, to train them in the various branches of household economy, and thus to fit them for occupying respectable positions in society, that the Tron Parish Industrial School was started eight years before by the late Dr. Hunter and Dr. Nicholson. Convenient and commodious premises were secured. With Mrs. M'Neill as matron and Miss Menzies as teacher, 14 Niddrie Street became the working heart of the Parish and the Church Hall, where the eleven Committees met. Since the school began 190 girls, many

of whom, but for it, would have been on the street, had gone out to service which had been procured for them, and all of them, with one or two exceptions, were known to be doing well. It was a proof that the school had been to many of them the only happy home they ever knew, and the matron the only kind mother, that after they left they still kept up their connection both with it and with her, and visited her as they would a mother, to get her advice as to the laying out of their savings, etc. The bank books of many of them were in her hand. The school was so well known that it became the temporary home of many a poor helpless girl. The Government Inspector reported "that the condition of the school reflects great credit on the teachers and on the ladies who take so much interest in its benevolent objects. Girls whose future for any good would otherwise be placed in great jeopardy receive a good elementary education, and the accounts that are received are in a majority of cases satisfactory."

This warm interest in the waifs of the Parish by the Ministers and Session of the Tron Church went back for ninety years. We learn from the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* that as early as June 1778 there was a school opened in Blackfriars Wynd "solely for the benefit of those poor destitute children in the city of Edinburgh and suburbs, who, deprived of all other possible means of instruction, are left to wander idly on the streets, and exposed almost to every vice."

Connected with this blessed institution in Niddrie Street there was a soup-kitchen for five months of the year, with recipients averaging a hundred. There was a Dorcas Society, Coal Distribution Committee, Work Committee, Children's Church and Sabbath School Committees, advanced Class for Young Men, Penny Savings Bank, and Parochial and Missionary Association Committee.

The most important event of the year was the appointment of a Parochial Visitation Committee. On the 30th November 1868, at my request, a meeting was held of the male members of the congregation, when I expressed my anxious desire to have full and

accurate information regarding the temporal and spiritual condition of the Parish. With the view of bringing every family within it under the direct cognisance of the Kirk-Session, I suggested the propriety of forming a special association, the object of which would be the regular visitation of all families within the bounds, in order to ascertain their condition, and to do what seemed necessary for the social and sanitary improvement of the Parish.

The proposal was most cordially acquiesced in by those present, and the Parish was divided into five groups, and a sub-convener appointed to each. Each group was divided into five districts, containing each about twenty families, and two gentlemen were appointed to visit each district. The work was done entirely by capable men, and among them advocates, doctors, clergymen, etc. Ample work was provided for the ladies by the Parochial and Missionary Association, with its twenty-seven members. The Parochial Visitation Committee was in full swing when hints were thrown out by the leaders of the new-born "Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor" that we should put the Parish entirely in their hands. This we would not do. "On 17th January 1869 I reported that I had recently had several meetings with Donald Crawford, Esq., advocate, now Sheriff of Aberdeen, and Dr. Littlejohn, representing the acting committee of the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, who had applied to me with the view of procuring visitors from the Tron congregation to carry out their objects in the Tron district. I had stated to these gentlemen that the work which they proposed doing in the Tron Parish was being already thoroughly done, the Kirk-Session having some time before organised a visitation committee for the personal house-to-house visitation of the Parish. I had stated that, so far as I was concerned, I was quite willing that our committee should affiliate with the Association, give their service as its visitors, and in all respects do its work, on the express condition, however, that it did the work of the Kirk-Session as well, maintained its connection with the Parish Church, and that the Association would not send into the

Parish any visitors other than those appointed by our committee. The acting committee of the Association being willing to accept the services of our visitors on these terms, I recommended that the Kirk-Session should agree to the above proposal, and should authorise me to urge its adoption by the members of the Parochial Visitation Committee, which was agreed to." After all those years I venture to say that there was no district of the Association and no parish in Edinburgh whose work was more thoroughly done than that of the Tron Parish.

The result of our affiliation was that in addition to our own Parish we supplied visitors for that portion of the High Street contiguous to the Parish which lies between it and St. Mary's Wynd, — Messrs. Crawford and Ferguson being the conveners. The work went on smoothly with forty-five visitors for the parish and eighteen for the extra parochial district.

It shows the interest taken in the work that, while the visitors of the first year numbered sixty-three, in its fourth year, when the City Improvements had greatly diminished the necessitous class, and there was much less work to do, they still numbered forty-two. In the report for that year, the convener says: "The field is yearly lessening in extent. If we cannot reach the hearts of the parents, let us try to do something for the young and helpless children." It is worth recording in this History of the Tron Church some passages from the reports in the annual Pastoral Letters. "Within the first six months 120 cases of distress were investigated, and, where deserving, relief was offered. Within a year nearly a fourth of the houses in the Parish had been removed. A review of the past year's work reveals how deep the causes of physical and moral evil lie, and how firmly they are rooted in the habits of the lowest class of the population. While many had been reduced to penury through causes over which they had no control, the committee are constrained to say that, in the great majority of the cases of destitution visited, the causes are inbred thriftlessness, indolence, and drunkenness. The last remedy to which they will apply is

hard, honest work. One of the sub-conveners, who had been repeatedly applied to for relief by able-bodied men, representing themselves as in destitution, offered work at a fair wage to eight men. Of these three made their appearance, and of these three, two wrought but only for nine hours. Only one man continued to work. With this class elevation in the social scale is hopeless, so long as they can manage, through the mischievous system of indiscriminate charity, to live on the labours of others instead of their own. Beggary will flourish just so long as beggary will pay."

From the Parish let us pass to the Church and its service. It has been already told how, once a stately building, it had, for the good of the city, been reduced to its present modest appearance and humble dimensions. Every available inch of space had to be utilised for seats. There was not room enough for a stair to the pulpit. The minister entered it straight from the vestry. To a new-comer, whether in the church or in the pulpit, the operation looked like that of a jack-in-the-box. To the latter it was an ordeal; it was so at least to me. I never could pray with my eyes open. In a pulpit of the kind or, worse still, in a high pulpit like that of the old St. Cuthbert's, I sometimes suffered from a nervous feeling the moment I closed my eyes in prayer,—a feeling as if the pulpit and occupant were sinking together. Many ministers must have felt as I have done, and would be as grateful as I am if the pulpit were reserved for its proper work of preaching, and the devotional part of the service were conducted below. For preaching, the pulpit and the church of the Tron were perfect. There was no nervous feeling there. The crowded galleries came so near that you felt as if you could touch them. You were within easy reach of every ear and every heart. It was like a little happy family gathering around their spiritual father. I can see them as I write. There come back to me faces which I shall never see on earth again, and voices that have long been still. Little wonder that I have never been within its walls since I left them, and never will.

Within little more than a month of my induction the Kirk-

Session made an important change in the service of praise. They resolved that a choir, consisting of members of the congregation, assisted by two or more paid voices, treble, bass, and alto, should be immediately organised, the paid singers to be selected by Mr. Hugh Mackay, a gifted musician, whom they appointed choirmaster, an office which he holds to this day. They also resolved that the Church of Scotland's Hymnal should be introduced, and also the chanting of prose Psalms and portions of Scripture, and that the congregation should be requested to stand at praise and kneel at prayer. These resolutions were submitted to the congregation, and heartily and unanimously approved. Weekly practisings of the choir, and as many of the congregation as chose to attend, began after the Communion in October, and continued till April. The average attendance was forty ladies, thirty gentlemen, and eight to twelve visitors. Lessons were also given on the theory and practice of music. The effect in course of time on the singing of the congregation was quite remarkable. Some of the prose chants ring in my ears to this day.

In June of the same year a Parochial and Missionary Association was formed, in accordance with the instruction of the General Assembly. In order to systematic collection, the congregation was divided into twenty-seven districts, with a lady collector to each. The warm thanks of the Session was given from time to time to these lady collectors for the faithfulness and regularity with which they did their duty.

Some four years before, new windows had been put into the church by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. Before 1868 was out they required immediate and extensive repairs, as they were cracked in every direction. At a meeting of the elders on 9th December they unanimously resolved that an effort should be made to have the large east and west windows filled with stained glass, in keeping with the style of the building, and a committee was appointed to give effect to the resolution, the minister to be convener. The necessary funds for the east window, amounting to £268, were at

once subscribed. A design, representing the leading events in the life of our Lord, was furnished by James Ballantine & Son, and was approved of by Sir George Harvey and Sir Noël Paton, and also by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, who gave it their hearty and unanimous commendation. The window was placed in the church in September 1870, when it gave great satisfaction, and, in the opinion of competent judges, ranked high as a work of art. It was agreed at the same time that the west window should be proceeded with, and that a section of it should be a memorial of Dr. Hunter, a man greatly beloved, who for thirty-three years laboured unweariedly as minister of the Tron, and who left behind him the fragrance of a genial and saintly life. After a considerable time, through the kindly help of the Marquis of Tweeddale, whose family had long been connected with the church, who gave a handsome donation himself, and secured another from the Earl of Lauderdale, but mainly through the generosity of the congregation, sufficient funds were raised for the west window, which was finished by the same firm, and erected before the end of 1872. May we not hope that these two fine windows will, through long centuries to come, beautify as they do to-day Christ's Church at the Tron?

From the first day on which I conducted worship in the Tron there was one striking personality whose wrapt attention greatly impressed me. I can see vividly as I write the fine old man, with his powerful head and kindly face, as he sat below me on the right side of the pulpit, the devoutest of worshippers. I can see the quivering lips and the tears gathering in his eyes as he listened to the gospel. It was John Croall of Southfield. He was one of those self-made men, strong all round, of whom Scotland has reason to be proud, a man of marked individuality, of indomitable will, of great mental capacity and force of character, combined with great kindliness of heart. On 16th April 1872 his fellow-elder, Dr. James Simson of Glenfinlas Street, and myself dined with him. Though to all appearance hale and well, he had perhaps a premonition that the end might not be far away. His object in sending for us was

to ask our advice as to the disposal of some £20,000, which he had resolved to devote to benevolent and religious purposes. He specially wished to mark his respect for the Church of Scotland. I suggested to him that the most useful gift which he could make would be the foundation of a Theological Lectureship which should bear his name, and I explained to him its need and its advantages. He adopted the suggestion, and said that he would set apart for the purpose £5000. A few days after, with the view of arranging matters, I wrote to Professor Crawford to meet me at my house at 17 George Square. In his answer, he agreed with me in believing that the best form which Mr. Croall's gift to the Church could take would be, to use his own words, "a Theological Lectureship, such as the Cunningham Lectureship of the Free Church, to be held biennially, the lectures not less than six or eight, on some subject of apologetic, systematic, or pastoral theology approved of by the trustees, and to be afterwards published. I think the funds should be vested in trustees representing the Church of Scotland, or, at all events, secured against alienation from the Church of Scotland. The lecturer might be selected by the Professors of the Theological Faculty, the ministers of the Tron Church, St. Stephen's Church, and some other church or churches in Edinburgh. These are matters of detail. But, at all events, I think the professional element should be counterbalanced by an equal number of clergymen. I do not think the lecturer should necessarily be a minister of the Church of Scotland. I should, on the contrary, be glad to see such a man as Dr. Lindsay Alexander, Dr. Cairns of Berwick, or Dr. Eadie of Glasgow occasionally selected. The late Professor Robertson had his heart very much set on such a Lectureship. Had he lived to complete the endowment of his first hundred churches, he often said he would agitate for a Lectureship similar to the Bampton Lectureship at Oxford. I am going on Monday night to Ventnor, in the Isle of Wight, for the health of my family. I shall be away for a month. (Signed) Thos. J. Crawford." That letter was written on Satur-

day, the 27th April. On the forenoon of Monday, the 29th, Dr. Crawford came to my house. As he was pressed for time, the meeting—the only one ever held on the subject—lasted about an hour. A rough draft of the constitution of the trust was drawn up, mainly on the lines of the letter. The trustees, as is shown in Mr. Croall's will, were to be "the ministers of the Tron Church, the High Church, St. George's, the senior minister of St. Cuthbert's, the Moderator and Senior Clerk of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, the Procurator, and the Professors of the Faculty of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh; the lecturers to be licentiates of the Presbyterian Churches of Scotland, the trustees having power occasionally to appoint a clergyman of any Reformed Church other than Presbyterian." I had formed a strong resolution that, among the subjects of the Lectureship, the Person and Redemptive Work of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Eternal and Incarnate Son of God, should have a prominent place. As a first rough sketch, which was fated never to be revised, the subjects agreed on were "The Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion," "The Person, Work, Atonement, Divinity, and Resurrection of Christ," "The Person and Work of the Holy Spirit," and "The Doctrine of the Trinity."

To prevent mishaps, as I was going soon to the south of England, that draft was written out and placed by myself that afternoon into Mr. Croall's hands. It was characteristic of the promptitude of the man that it was put, just as it was, into the hands of his lawyers, Messrs. Hope, Mann, & Kirk, and was embodied in a codicil to his trust-disposition and settlement, along with a legacy of £1000, free of duty, to the Kirk-Session of the Tron Church, and another £1000, also free of duty, to form a South Side Ministers' Trust, the interest of which would go to supplement the stipend of one or two of the thirteen south side charges which the trustees considered most deserving. That codicil was signed just ten days before his death on 31st May. The intimation came to me with a shock, as a letter from Southfield, dated 29th, assured me that he was better.

The Croall Lectureship has already borne substantial fruit in the service of our Lord, and will, we trust, continue to do so through ages to come. In the foundation of it, John Croall set an example to wealthy and patriotic Scotsmen which has much need to be followed, in that and in kindred directions.

It is not out of place to say that the pulpit of the new St. Cuthbert's Parish Church, probably the finest north of the Tweed, was erected to his memory by his son, the late Robert Croall, Esq., of Craigcrook, and by his granddaughter, and is filled from Sunday to Sunday by her husband, the Rev. Dr. Wallace Williamson, and by the old friend who, after thirty-four years, pays this humble tribute to his worth.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

(*a*) Proposed Improvement Plan

IN a Plan for Improving the City of Edinburgh (1786) by James Craig, Architect, and dedicated to the Honourable Robert Dundas, Esq., Junior, of Arniston, His Majesty's Solicitor-General of Scotland, there is a proposal "for a range of buildings, in the form of an Octagon, at the entry of the Bridge from the High Street" (p. 5).

"The reason of this part of the design was, to prevent the accidents to which both carriages and foot-passengers would be liable, if the entry to so great a thorough-fare was at right angles to the High Street. . . . If the entry to the Bridge from the High Street be, as here designed, one hundred feet in breadth upon each side of the Tron Church, drivers and passengers will see carriages either coming along the Bridge or passing along the street, some time before they can interfere, and will be thus prepared to avoid each other.

"It is needless to remark how much more elegant in itself, as well as more ornamental and convenient for the public, this approach would be to the Old Town, than any other which has been yet suggested; for it is impossible to prevent the Bridge from making a curve at the Tron Church, without some expedient to enlarge the area there. The Octagon effectually remedies this inconvenience; and, instead of such a disagreeable deviation from regularity, presents an elegant figure to the eye" (p. 6).

He also adds:

"I have designed an arcade behind the Tron Church, as the soles of the windows are a considerable height from the ground, the

roof above the columns would not intercept the light of the Church. The space is seventy-five feet in length and ten in breadth. This covered way would make an agreeable shade in summer, and a shelter from rain, without any interruption to shop-keepers, which is the great objection to a piazza in front of shops" (p. 16).

The N.W. side of the octagon was to lead to the New Markets, "all designed with arcades for shelter from the weather" (p. 17), and "hoping that the time is not far distant when a new College may be built, I was anxious to have an elegant approach to the area where the present College stands and to the Royal Infirmary . . . To procure this I have drawn upon the Plan, buildings in the form of a Crescent. . . . This Crescent would be an elegant approach to these buildings; and there can be no doubt that it would be extremely convenient, as all the students of medicine, and others attending the University, would take up their habitation there, for the sake of its vicinity to the College. The figure of the Crescent embraces the University and the Royal Infirmary, and would represent the City, like an open generous friend with extended arms, giving a hearty welcome to all strangers from the South who may honour this metropolis with a visit" (pp. 12, 13).

(*b*) Niddry Street School

The Niddry Street School, known at various times in its career as the Charity School, the City's Charity School, the City's Free School, and lastly as the City's School, previous to the change of name to Dr. Bell's School, was an important institution in the Tron Parish, and a few excerpts from the Edinburgh Town Council's Records regarding it, throw an interesting sidelight on education in Edinburgh in the early years of last century.

8th September 1819.—The College Bailie authorised to get an efficient Teacher for the Charity School in room of Mr. Riddell, who is now advanced in years.

27th October 1819.—David Kean appointed Teacher of the City's Charity School and half of the emoluments of the office to be paid to John Riddell, his predecessor, School books to the value of £8, 11s. have been ordered to serve the school for one year.

21st April 1821.—The Council approve of a Report that the decline of the City's Free School in Niddry Street has been caused by the improper manner in which Daniel Kean, the Teacher, has for some time past conducted himself, and resolve to dismiss him and appoint another Teacher.

21st July 1824.—Mr. John Watson appointed Teacher of the City's School in Niddry Street at a fixed salary of £35 per annum, exclusive of £8, 6s. 8d. paid by the Mortality Recorder and £3, 3s. yearly for Coals for the School-room, under the following Regulations:—

"1st. The number of Scholars to be limited to 100.

"2nd. No child under the age of 5 years to be admitted.

"3rd. All the Scholars to be instructed in reading, spelling, writing and arithmetic, under the Monitorial System.

"4th. The rate of payment to be sixpence per month payable in advance.

"5th. The Scholars to be furnished with Slates and Slate Pencils for writing, but if required by their friends to use pens, ink and paper,—these to be furnished at their own expense.

"6th. The Scholars to be taught during at least four hours of each day excepting Saturdays and Sundays. On Saturday they shall be employed for only two hours, more particularly for the purpose of being taught the principles of Religion, but care is to be taken by the Master at all times to endeavour to instil into the minds of the Children proper principles both Religious and Moral.

"7th. A list of the Scholars' names shall be kept by the Master with the dates of their entering and leaving the School,

and he shall be required to keep an accurate account of the attendance of all the Scholars and of their conduct.

"8th. That the College Bailie shall have power to nominate the time of the Examination, and he shall also have power at that time to give a vacation not exceeding one month.

"9th. The Master shall open and dismiss the School each day with prayer.

"10th. The Master shall take care that the children be at all times as clean in their persons and apparel as circumstances will admit of.

"11th. That during the year no children shall be admitted except on the first day of each month.

"12th. That these Regulations are to be hung up in the School-room, and a copy delivered to the parents of each child at entrance."

General Regulations for the Master.

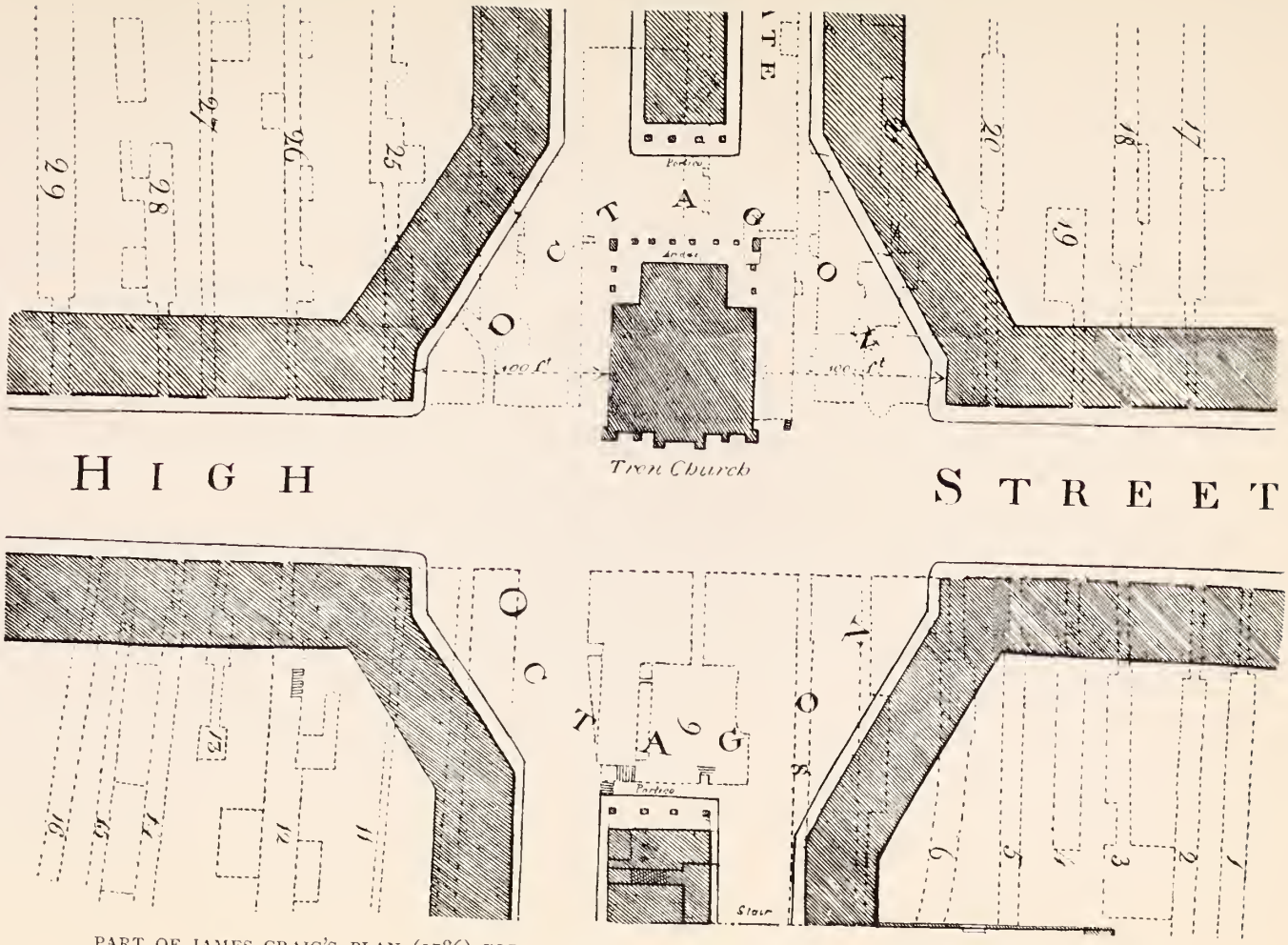
"1st. To teach English Reading, Spelling, Writing and Arithmetic, and the principles of Religion.

"2nd. To teach by the Monitorial System and in such a way as to keep all the children constantly employed during the whole time they are in School.

"3rd. To be during six hours of each day, excepting Saturday and Sunday, at the disposal of the Magistrates and Council for the purposes of the School. On Saturday during two hours, and on Sunday during two hours.

"4th. To be allowed £35 of salary from the funds of the City, payable quarterly, exclusive of £3, 3s. for coals payable on 1st October, and £8, 6s. 8d. payable by the Mortality Recorder, which sums along with the money paid by the Children to form the whole of his emoluments.

"5th. Under no pretence to be allowed to take any money from the Children excepting the sum of sixpence per month.



PART OF JAMES CRAIG'S PLAN (1786) FOR REMODELLING THE OLD TOWN, SHOWING PROPOSED OCTAGON.

"6th. Books, Slates and Slate Pencils to be furnished by the City, and to be placed under the charge of the Master, who is to take care that these be preserved in the best possible order."

The School-room to be cleaned and fitted up in a proper manner previous to its being taken up on first October next.

1st September 1830.—The Council accept the resignation of Daniel McBride, who was appointed a Substitute for John Watson to teach the City's School in Niddry Street, and appoint Andrew Young, residenter in Edinburgh, who has recently had charge of the School, as Successor to the said John Watson, who is still in delicate health.

10th August 1831.—A Committee appointed to endeavour to procure better accommodation for the Niddry Street School.

24th August 1831.—The Council accept of the Trust (as narrated in the Minute) conferred on them by the Reverend Andrew Bell of Egmore in Scotland, Doctor in Divinity and Laws and Prebendary of the Collegiate Church of St. Peter, Westminster, for founding and maintaining a School or Schools in Edinburgh on the Madras System (of which the said Dr. Bell was author) for the instruction of both male and female children in the ordinary branches of education.

31st July 1833.—Premiums to be furnished for the City's English Schools taught by Messrs. Anderson and Simpson to the extent of £3 and £1, 10s. respectively; and for the Niddry Street School to the extent of £4 Sterling, and to furnish Confections for these Schools to the amount of £2, 5s. in all.

26th September 1837.—The number of Scholars attending Dr. Bell's School, Niddry Street, is now about 350. Mr. Young, the Teacher, receives a fixed salary of £43, 6s. 8d., and the School fees if received from 350 children at 6d. per month for eleven months in the year amounts to £96, 5s., making his whole emoluments

£139, 11s. 8d., out of which he pays an Assistant and a variety of petty expenses which together amount to a considerable sum. The Council empower Mr. Young to engage a number of boys and girls (not exceeding six) who have made great proficiency in their own studies, and shown a talent for the art of teaching, in order to enter into an indenture binding them as apprentices to Mr. Young or to such other Teacher on Dr. Bell's Mortification as the Town Council shall at any time appoint. The Indenture to endure for five years and the apprentices to receive weekly—

During the	first	year	2s.	each.
,, ,,	second	,,	2s. 6d.	,,
,, ,,	third	,,	3s. 6d.	,,
,, ,,	fourth	,,	4s. 6d.	,,
,, ,,	fifth	,,	6s.	,,

31*st October* 1837.—The Council authorise Mr. Andrew Young, Teacher of Dr. Bell's School in Niddry Street, to enter into Indentures with the following six persons :—

1. James Fraser.
2. William Brodie.
3. John Alexander.

1. Margaret Ronaldson.
2. Elizabeth Watson.
3. Catherine Munro.

Margaret Ronaldson and Catherine Munro having been Mr. Young's best Scholars for several years, the term of their apprenticeship is limited to three years each at the wages fixed for the last three years of an ordinary apprenticeship.

INDEX

INDEX

Adam (Dr.), Rector, 42, 342.
Adams (architect), 254.
Advocates' (Library), 25.
Aged Minister and Council, 243–244.
Aikenhead (David), 136.
—— (Rev. Henry), 132.
Aisle roof, 255.
Alarm (city) in 1745, 168–170.
Alemore (Lord), 57.
Alexander II., 34–35.
Allan (David), 47.
Alterations in Tron at formation of South Bridge, 258–262.
Alva (Lady), 303.
Amen Court, 37.
Amsterdam copper for Tron roof, 205.
Angus (faction), 26.
Annan (Rev. William), 189, 216.
Annandale (Earl of), 234–235.
Anne (Queen), 62.
Annuity Tax Abolition Act, 296.
Anstruther (Sir Robert) of Wrae, 233.
Arbuthnot (George), 175.
Archbishop's Palace, 27–29, 35.
Architect of new spire, 281.
Argyll, Archibald (Duke of), 178, 229.
—— Archibald (3rd Duke), 311.
—— Archibald (9th Earl), 234.
—— (Countess of), 229.
—— (Earl of), 47, 154.
—— John (2nd Duke), 242–243.
—— (Marquis of), 220, 224.
Arms (town), carving and colouring of, 134.
Arniston, 176.
Arrans (the), 27.
Assembly Close, 271.
—— (General) meets in Tron, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291; protest against granting Church to, 289, 291; meetings of, in Tron, 333–338.
Assembly Room, 55.
Atherston (Lady), 179.
Auchinleck (Lord), 57.
Auction (proposed of Tron), 280.
Auld Kirk (at Castle?), 134.
Ayton (the Lady), 152.

Baillie (Lady Grizell), 226.
—— (William), 226.
Baird (Sir John), of Newbyth, 171.
—— (of Newbyth), 304.
Balcanquall (Walter), 84, 89, 93, 187.
Balcarres (Countess of), 41.
—— (Lord), 65.
Balfour (James, of Denmiln), 116.
—— (Rev. James), 89, 96, 187.
—— (Lord, of Burleigh), 330.
Balgonie (Lady), 230.
Ballantyne's Land, 130, 132.
Ballincrieff, 155.
Balmerino (Lord), 179.
Bannatyne (George), 148.
—— (Thomas), 132.
Baptism Room, 248.
Barbours and wounded men, 135.
Barclay (Henry), of Callerny, 302.
—— (Rev. John), 199.
Barons of Exchequer, 303, 304, 317, 318.
Bass Club (Tron), 251.
Bassendyne (Thomas), 43.
Bavelaw (Lady), 180, 302.
Beadles, 217, 244.
Beaton (Archbishop), 26, 27, 28, 35.
—— (Cardinal), 27, 28.
Belhaven (Lord), 47, 231, 241.
Bell (Tron), 216, 217; hours for ringing, 218, 242, 245, 246, 249, 254, 257, 262, 263, 267, 282, 293, 324.
Bell (Dr. Benjamin), 49, 313.
Bell's School, 49, 51, 367, 368.

Bell's Wynd, 53, 54, 55, 56, 209.
Binning (Sir William), 66, 232.
Birrell (Diarist), 92, etc.
Black arts, 93.
Black (Alexander, of Balbirney), 48.
—— (Dr. James), 59.
Blackbarony, 55, 150.
Blackfriars' Church, 26.
—— Wynd, 25 ; Bishop's Palace at, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30 ; and St. Clair, 31 ; Mottoes in, 32 ; Lauderdale House in, 32 ; Educational centre, 33, 34 ; Monastery, 34–36 ; Chepman's Printing-Press in, 39 ; and Rab, 66, 67 ; black spot, 350.
Black Turnpike, 53.
Blair (Dr. Hugh), 57, 310.
—— (Sir James Hunter), 52, 316.
Blair Street, 52, 127.
Boards (wooden) in houses, 19.
Boerhaave, 171.
Boghall, 149.
Bogrian Knowe, 27.
Books (first printed), 39–40.
Booths, 19.
Borthwick (Lord), 31.
Boswell, 57, 59.
Bothwell (Earl of), 29, 35.
—— (Lady), 56.
Bowets, 23.
Braxfield (Lord), 58, 306, 312, 318.
Brechin (Bishop of), 103.
Broughton Quarry, 136.
Broughton Street (R.C.) Church, 31.
Broun (of Coalston), 55.
Brown (Dr. John) and Rab, 66.
—— (Prof. Hume), 20, 22, 23, 24, 52.
Bruce (Sir Alexander) of Airth, 186.
—— (Sir George) of Carnock, 224.
—— (of Kinnaird), 48.
—— (Mrs. Moray), 56.
—— (Principal), 219.
—— (Rev. Robert), 89, 97, 186.
—— (Rev. Robert, of Old Deer), 189.
Brunton (Rev. Dr.), 59, 192, 193, 264, 278 ; protests against sale of Tron, 280, 286–290.
Buccleuch family, 228.
Buchan (Earl of), 40, 240, 316.
—— (of Kello), 315.
—— (of Lethem), 309.
Buchanan (George), 52, 53, 341.
Burbridge (knock-maker), 216.
Burdett-Coutts (Baroness), 175.
Burgess entry money, 209.
Burgesses, 24.
Burnet's Close, 57.
Burnett (Eliza), 310.
Burough Muir, 35, 36.
Burns (Robert) in Edinburgh, 54, 310, 311 ; at Tron Kirk, 311 ; and Scott, 314, 315.

Cairns, John (Reader), 78, 79, 84, 93, 187.
Callendar (Countess of), 237.
Calton Hill, 141.
Cameronian Church, 29.
Campbell (of Aird), 315.
—— (of Blythswood), 316.
—— (Sir Colin) of Aberuchill, 232.
—— (Sir George) of Cessnock, 66.
—— (John M'Leod), deposed in Tron, 336.
—— (Sir John) of Aberuchill, 224.
—— (Lord Provost), 244.
Cambuskenneth (Abbot of), 130.
Candlish delivers first public speech in Tron, 336.
Canongate, 45, 73, 142.
Cant (John), 37.
Cant's Close, 37–38, 209.
Cardross (Lord) preaches at Tron, 145, 227.
Carnegie (Lady Christian), 309.
—— (Lady Elizabeth), 179.
—— (John), 180.
—— (Margaret), 153.
Carnwath (Earl of), 153.
Castle (Edinburgh), 142, 143.
—— Rock, 329.
Castlehaven (Lady), 232.
Castlehill Church, 114, 134, 206, 207, 208.
Cathcart (James, of Carbiston), 55.
Chalmers (Dr. Thomas) and Tron Parish, 43 ; in Tron during Assemblies, 335–338.
Chambers (Dr. Robert), 66 ; on Tron fire, 271–274.
—— (Dr. William), 29.
Charles I., 21, 60, 108, 134.
—— II., 47, 61.
—— (Prince), 165–170.
Chatelherault (Duke of), 36.
Chepman (Walter), 36, 39.
Chesterhall (Lord), 46.
Chiesley (of Dalry), 49.
Children's Shelter, 56.
Chimes (Tron), 216, 245.

City arms on Tron panel, 115.
"Clamshell Turnpike," 54.
Cleanse the Causey, 29.
Clerk (Rev. Dr. Archibald), 345.
—— (of Balbirnie), 131.
Clerks of Penicuick, 32, 177, 181, 304.
Clock (weighhouse) for Tron, 209; in gunner's hand, 210, also 216, 217; Dutch, 217, 246, 247, 248, 256, 261, 262, 264; and fire, 276; new, 282, 297, 298.
Coal and salt industries, 21.
Cockburn (James), 149.
—— (John), 40.
—— (Lord) on Erskine, 41; on St. Cecilia's Hall, 50, 51; on Tron fire, 274–276.
Coin (Scottish), 47.
College, 143.
—— (town's), 36.
—— Wynd, 59.
Colonial Committee appointed in Tron, 338.
Colvin (William), 155, 157, 188–189, 206, 208, 210.
Commissioner (Lord High), 56, 242, 334.
Commonwealth, 60.
Communion seats, 229, 254.
Compulsion on non-contributing citizens, 114.
Conn's Close, 57, 58, 101.
Cope (Sir John), 166.
Cornillon (Hypolite William), 326.
Council seats (Tron), 229.
Coupar (4th Lord), 179.
Coutts (Provost), 175, 302.
Covenant Close, 57.
Covenants, 57.
Cowgate, 27, 31, 39; description of, 46, 51, 58, 59, 65–66, 91, 258–262.
—— Bridge, 258.
—— (Episcopal) Church, 31.
—— Port, 46, 91, 101.
Cowper (Rev. John), 187.
Crafts and Guilds, 24.
Craig (James), architect, 363.
—— (John), 73, 78–79, 83, 100, 187.
Craigie (Lord) of Kilgraston, 171.
Craigintinnie, 150.
Craigmillar (pavement), 137.
Crawford (Sir John), 36.
—— (Professor), 303.
Crichton (Collegiate Church), 37, 48.
—— (Bishop George), 53.
Crichton (Robert) of Elliock, 55.
—— (Sir William), 37.
—— (Rev. William), 190, 243–244.
Croal (John) of Southfield, 356–359.
—— Lectureship, 357–359.
Cromarty (Earl of), 232.
Cromwell and St. Mary's Wynd, 46; and High Street, 64; in Edinburgh, 141–147; preaches at St. Giles' Churchyard, 145; and Leslie, 152.
Cross (Town), 20, 23, 24, 45, 142, 166.
Cullen (Dr.), 47.
Cupola (Tron), 254, 295.
Curriehill (Skene of), 207.

Dalkeith, 109.
Dalrymple (Sir David), 308.
—— (Sir Hugh), 241–242.
—— (Old Provost), 312.
Darien Scheme, 63.
Darnley, 29, 32, 35, 40.
D'Artois (Count), 31.
Davidson (Rev. John), 103, 187.
Deacons for poor, 100.
Dean family, 150.
Defoe (Daniel), 44, 127.
Deprived Ministers, 219.
Dial boards, 251, 261; copper, 266; and Gas Company, 267.
Dick (David), 145.
—— (Sir William) of Braid, 233.
Dickson (Prof. David), 207.
Dickson's Close, 47.
Dirleton (Lady), 305.
—— (Lord), 31.
Disruption Procession might have been from Tron but for Session's protest, 338.
Doctor Scott's Tenement, 131, 132.
Domincan Monastery, 34–36.
Don (Sir Alexander), 231.
Dornell (M.), 28.
Douglas (faction), 26, 28.
—— (Gavin) and St. Giles, 25; and Cowgate, 25–27, 35; and Dunkeld, 54.
—— (Robert), 145.
—— (William), 27.
Drink money, 133, 135, 136, 137, 138.
Drumlanrig, 228.
Drummond (Bishop), 30.
—— (Provost), 168, 304, 305.
Drysdale (Rev. John), 197, 255.

Duddingston, 166.
Duff (Rev. Dr.), Missionary in Tron, 337.
—— (Sir William), 33.
Dumfries (Countess of), 33.
Dun (Lord), 180, 311.
Dunbar (effects of battle), 141–162 ; on Tron, 146, 147, 152.
Dunbar (Lady), 318.
Dunbar's Close, 142.
Dundas (Sir James) of Arniston, 176.
—— (Lord President), 312.
—— (Bailie Robert), 174.
—— (Robert), 175.
—— (Robert, jun.) of Arniston, 363.
Dunfermline (Earls of), 123.
Dunglass, 155, 233.
Dunkeld (Bishopric of), 25 ; lodging of, 26.
Dunnett (Rev. Hamilton), 200.
Dury (John), 84, 187.

Edinburgh, illumination of, 23 ; and foreign trade, 24 ; castle at, 32, 47 ; four parishes in, 79, 87–104 ; erected into a bishopric, 90, 109 ; also made city, 109 ; effects of Dunbar on, 141–162 ; and superiority, 144 ; and Prince Charles, 165–170 ; proposed improvement plan for, 363, 364.
—— (Bishop of), 62, 97, 117–119 ; Bishop Forbes, 187, 189, 190, 218.
Edmistoun (Rev. John), 187.
Edward (King's) message to Tron children, 330.
—— (Nicol), 48.
Eglinton (Earldom of), 27 ; Earl of, 238–240.
Elchies (Lord), 57, 302, 303, 311.
Elibank (Lord), 55, 154.
Elliock (Lord), 158.
Elliot (Sir Gilbert), 176, 308.
—— (Sir Gilbert, 3rd Bart.), 308.
—— (Jean) of Minto, 308.
—— (Lady Dowager) of Minto, 308.
Elphinstone (Sir James), 46.
—— (Lady), 171, 302.
—— (Lord), 171.
Elphinstone's Court and Mansion, 46.
Enterkin (Lady), 230.
Erskine (Chancellor), 40.
—— (Lord Cardross), 227.
—— (Sir Charles), 176.
—— (Charles) of Tinwald, 176.
—— (David) of Dun, 180, 319.
Erskine (Harry), 40, 41, 192.
—— (Sir Harry) of Alva, 303.
—— (James) of Grange, 233.
—— (Baron James), 304.
—— (Rev. Dr. John), 227.
—— (John) of Balgonie, 230.
—— (John) of Carnock, 227.
—— (Rev. William), 190.
Erskines (of Grange), 49, 178.
Estimates for repair of steeple, 281.

Fair and free trade, 23.
Fairlie (Rev. James), 89.
Falconer (Commissioner), 150.
—— (Sir David), 150.
—— (Sir John), 150.
Farquhar (Rev. John), 195.
Fentonbarns (Lord), 40.
Ferguson (Professor Adam), 313–315.
—— (of Craigdarroch), 151.
Fergusson (Sir James), 57.
—— (Poet), 49 ; on Tron bell, 269–270.
Findlay (Rev. Mr.) on Tron Congregation, 90, 91, 111.
Fire around Tron and burning of steeple, 271–277.
Firth (Historian), 147–148.
Fleming (Dr. Archibald), 200, 329.
—— (Lord), 31.
Fleshmarket, 131.
Fletcher (Andrew) of Milton, 178.
—— (Baron), 318.
—— (Rev. David), 188.
Flodden (field), 36.
—— (wall), 35, 46, 165.
Forbes (Bishop William), 94, 101, 103, 104, 110, 187.
—— (of Culloden), 65.
Foulis (George) of Ravelston, 148 ; John (Sir), 149 ; Mr. Harry, 150 ; Robert, 153 ; Alexander (of Ratho), 163. (*See also* 156–162, 228, 230.)
Foundation stone of Tron laid, 132.
Fountain Well, 41.
Fowlis (George, jun.) gifts Communion Cups to Tron, 323.
Frasers (of Strichen), 179.
Fullerton (Adam), 43.

Gall (James), 50.
Gallaway (Rev. Patrick), 96, 101, 187.

Gardenstoune (Lord), 306.
Gas (first lighting of Tron with), 285, 286.
Geddes (Jenny) and Tron, 22, 61, 115–119.
Gilmertoun (Lady), 235.
Glasgow (Archbishop of), 28, 130.
—— (Earl of), 237.
Glasgow Assembly, 119.
Glass (for Kirk), 138.
Gledstaines (Bishop), 97.
Glenbervie (Douglases of), 37.
Goldsmith (Oliver), 34, 59.
Goods (fixed prices), 23.
Gordon (Duchess of), 41.
—— (Lord Rockville), 33.
—— (of Rothiemay), 91.
Gow (Neil), 64.
Grange (St. Giles), 36.
Grange (Lady), 49, 233.
Grants of Kilgraston, 306.
Grassmarket, 63.
Gray (Lady), 37.
—— (Sir William), 136.
Greig (Alexander) gift to Tron, 325.
Greyfriars' (Churchyard), 59, 129, 222.
—— (Kirk), 89, 98, 101, 141, 211.
—— (Monastery), 35, 40.
—— (Old), 89, 94, 98, 101, 109, 143.
Guard House, 55.
Guilds and Crafts, 24.
Guthrie (Alexander), 157.
—— (Rev. John), 103, 108, 187.

Haddington (Earl of), 58, 59; family of, 148, 153, 155, 309.
Hailes (Lord), 308, 310, 312.
Haining (Lord), 47.
Halkerstoun's Wynd, 100, 131.
Halkett (Charles) of Pitfirrane, 234.
Hall (Rev. John), 89, 188.
—— (Sir John and Sir James of Dunglas), 233.
Halliday (Sir John), 48.
Hamilton (Alexander), 151, 156.
—— (Sir Andrew), 155.
—— (Duke of), 64.
—— faction, 26, 27.
—— (of Fingleton), 227.
—— (Rev. James), 187.
—— (Hon. John), 309.
—— (Sir John), 148, 155.
—— (Sir Patrick), 27.
Hamilton (Sir Robert) of Barncluith, 231.
—— (Robert) of Pencaitland, 171.
—— (Robert) of Presmennan, 171.
—— (of Wishaw), 313.
Hanover (House of), 165.
Hart (Robert), 156.
Hartfell (Earl of), 153, 157.
—— (Lady), 65, 153.
Hawthornden, 30.
Hay (Bishop), 30.
—— (Father), 31.
—— (John) of Lawfield, 303.
—— (John) of Linplum, 229.
—— (Lord William), 229.
Henderland (Lord), 59.
Henderson (Alexander), 100.
—— (Laurence), 162.
—— Patrick (Reader), 118–119.
Henry VI., 35.
Henrysone (Treasurer), 133.
Hepburn (Bothwell), 29.
—— (Lady Janet), 36.
—— (Patrick) of Smeaton, 131.
—— (Robert), 302.
Heriot (George), 54, 98, 129.
Heriot's Hospital, 137, 143.
Hermistone (Laird), 156.
Hewat (Rev. Peter), 89.
Highland host, 165–170.
High School (Old), 34; and Walter Scott, 42, 59; also 62, 146, 173.
High School Wynd, 26, 42, 59.
High Street, description of, 19–21; battle at, 27; Defoe on, 45; Turner on, 64; lowering of, 257.
Hogg (Rev. James), 167, 248, 250, 256.
Holyrood Abbey, 35, 54, 65, 109; steeple model of Tron and, 127, 129; Tron steeple higher than, 213.
—— Palace, 25, 29, 62, 64, 142, 143, 166–170, 243.
Home (Lord), 32, 53, 54.
Hope (Edward), 43.
Horse Wynd, 59, 91, 101.
Hours (for ringing bell), 218.
Hume (Sir Andrew), 179.
—— (of Bassenden), 312.
—— (David), 53, 309.
—— (Misses, of Linthill), 33.
—— (of Ninewells), 309, 318.
—— (Sir Patrick), 225–226.

Hunter (Rev. Dr. Andrew), 191, 192, 257, 264.
—— (Rev. Dr. John), 51, 197–199, 325, 350.
Hunter-Blair (Sir James), 52, 316–317.
Hunter's Square, 52, 56; and Tron aisle, 127.
Huntly (Earl of), 48.
Hyndford (Earls of), 41.
Hyndford's Close, 41–45.

Illuminating reflectors for spire, 288, 291, 292.
Illumination of Town, 22, 296.
Improvement (!) of Tron, 257–266.
Independent preachers, 145–147.
Industrial School (Tron), 51, 193–194; seats for, 296, 326, 350, 351.
Industries (coal and salt), 21.
Infirmary Street, 26.
Inglis (Sir John), 177, 305, 312, 315.
—— (Lord President), 117 (note).
Inhabitants of an Edinburgh tenement, 65, 66.
Inscription on spire, 283.
Insurance controversy, 276–278.
Iron, 21.
Irving (Rev. Edward) and Tron, 335, 336, 337.

James' Court, 53.
James II., 25, 35.
James III., 34.
James V., 28, 130.
James VI., 48, 93, 95, 96, 98, 108, 154.
Jamieson (Rev. W. C.), 199, 326.
Jardine (Rev. John), 197.
Jewish Committee appointed in Tron, 338.
Johnson (James), 54.
—— in Blackfriars' Chapel, 31; in College Wynd, 59.
Jorwin de Rocheford, 19.
Judges' seats, 261.
Justice (Sir James) of Crichton, 229.

Kames (Lord), 310.
Keith (Mrs. Murray), 33.
—— (Sir Robert Murray), 33.
Kennedy's Close, 52, 341.
Kennet family, 56.
Keys (Church), 206.
Kilgraston (Craigies of), 316.
Kilkerran (Lord), 311.
Kilsyth, 154.
Kincaid on expense for building Tron, 138.
Kincardine (Earl of), 224–225.
King's Arms, 56; seat, 120, 121–122.
Kinloch (Francis) of Gilmerton, 227, 235.
Kirkcudbright (Lord), 34.
Kirkettel (Agnes), 37.
Kirk o' Field, 26, 29, 35–36, 40, 56.
Kirk, East, Little or New (of St. Giles), pavement for, 87; timber for, 87; seats for, 88; used for "teaching doctrine," 90; given to S.-E. Parish, 94; and Lord Home, 95; and Covenant, 95; marriage and baptism in, 96; enlarged, 96, 97, 98; for N.-W. Quarter, 100; for S.-E. Quarter, 101; and Charles I., 108; Minister made Dean, 109; called "Mr. Robert Bruce's," 111; repairing east window, 114; demolished wall to be rebuilt in, 120; money borrowed for, 121; for N.-W. Parish, 121; repairs and alterations stated for, 121; appropriated for Cromwell's soldiers, 145–146; called North Parish Kirk, 213. (*See* St. Giles.)
—— Great (of St. Giles), also Mid, Old, and High Kirk, 73; Knox preaches five times weekly in, 73; centre of city life, 74; loft and stalls in, 75; King's and Provost's seats, 75; marriage seats, 75; Repentance Pillar, 75; Judges' seats, 76; Sacrament, dispensing of, 76; week-day preaching and common prayer in, 77, 78; John Cairns, reader in, 78, 79; poor at, 79; opened early, 80; Knox and, 83, 84; Lawson ordained in, 83; Parish Church of S.-E. Parish, 87–104; called St. Giles' Kirk, 89; and Episcopacy, 92–94; King James in, 95, 96, 97; division of, 95; sermon in, 96; pillar from, 96, 97; Tolbooth enlarged from, 98; loft in, 99; for S.-W. Quarter, 99; for N.-W. Quarter, 101; and Charles I., 108, 109; wall to be removed, 110, 111; Bishop Forbes and, 110; east and west walls to be removed, 113; weekly preaching in, 113; riot in, 118, 119; walls again erected, 119; S.-E. Parish, worship in, till Tron erected, 119; succeeded by Tolbooth Parish in west portion, 119. (*See* St. Giles and Tron Kirk.)

Knox (John) at Blackfriars' Church, 26; as Minister of St. Giles, 73–84; congregation of, 90, 91, 111, 186.

Lambert (General), 145.
Lauderdale (Earl of), 62, 155, 176, 180, 236; seat to, in Tron, 319.
Lauderdale House, 32.
Lauders (of Bass), 37.
Lawder (Bishop), 25.
Lawnmarket, 169.
Lawrie (Bonnie Annie), 151.
—— (Rev. Robert), Dean, 61, 146–147, 150, 160, 210.
—— (Sir Robert), 150, 151, 156, 189, 213.
Lawson (James), 83, 84, 93, 186.
—— (Richard) of Boghall, 149.
Lectureship (Makcall's), *see* Makcall.
Lees (Dr. Cameron) on Knox's death, 83; History of St. Giles, 116.
Leets for Elders, 102; for Ministers, 255.
Legacies, 134, 136, 137, 203–204.
Leighton (Archbishop), 207.
—— (Principal), 189.
Leith (and Tron), 21, 22, 141; and Edinburgh, 144–146.
Lekprevik (Robert), 44.
Leslie (General), 141, 151–152, 157, 235.
Lethem (Lady), 174.
Liberton, 109.
Lidington (Lady), 303.
Lindsay (Rev. David), 96, 103, 119.
—— (Lady Sophia), 47.
Linlithgow, 109, 127.
—— (Earl of), 237.
Linplum (Lady), 228.
Linthill, 33.
Little (of Gilmerton), 56.
Liverymen, regulations regarding, 253.
Livingston (Lord), 48.
Lochend (Baronet of), 153.
Lockhart (of Cleghorn), 306.
—— (Lord President), 49.
Lockharts (of Carnwath), 48, 56.
Lodge (Mary's) of Edinburgh, 55.
Loft in High Kirk, 99.
Lofts (two great in Tron), 138; Treasurer-Depute's loft, 156; S.-E., 223; three lofts of, 228, 252.
Longformacus (family of), 33.
Lothian (1st Earl of), 44; (3rd Marquis), 180; (4th Earl), 219, 223–224, 234.
"Lots," erection of ministers by, 211, 212.
Loughborough (Lord), 46.
Lovat (Lady), 38, 315, 317.
—— (Lord), 38, 49.
Luffness (Lady), 305.
Lumsden (Michael, advocate), 57.
Lundie (Rev. James), 189, 195, 216.

M'Doual (Andrew) of Bankton, 305.
MacFarlane (Principal), 338.
MacGregor (Very Rev. Dr.), 199, 297; reminiscences, 349–359.
Mackenzie (Sir George), 38, 219–223.
—— (Sir George) of Tarbat, 232.
MacLeod (Rev. William), 200.
MacMoran (Ninian), 98.
MacQueen (Michael), 99.
—— (Robert), 306.
M'Vicar (Rev. Neil), 167.
Magdalen Chapel, 77, 78, 89, 92, 99, 100, 130, 219.
Magistrates, 20; and Leith, 21, 22.
Maidment and Jenny Geddes, 116.
Maison Dieu, 54.
Maitland (Captain), 176.
—— (Sir Charles) of Haltoun, 213–215.
—— (Lady Jean), 177.
Maitland Chapel, 77.
Makcall (David), 102, 131, 134, 203, 235.
Makcall's Mortification, 203, 204; Morning Lectureship, 204, 235, 236; two lecturers, 236, 240, 243, 244, 247, 248, 256, 262, 263, 298.
Malcolm (Rev. Alexander), 190.
Manners (correction of), 100.
Manse (for Tron Minister in College), 207.
—— (Knox's), 80–82.
Manses (prebendal), 65.
Mansio Regis, 34.
Mar (Countess of), 130.
Marchmont (Lord), 226, 237–238.
Margaret of Anjou, 35.
Market (Poultry), 254.
Markets, 67–69.
Martin (Sir Theodore), 272.
Marwick (Sir James), 109.
Mary of Gueldres, 35.
—— of Guise, 28.
—— (Queen), 24, 28, 32, 40, 53, 54, 58, 64.

Masons and wrights, 133.
Maule (Baron), 318.
—— (Hon. John), 303.
—— (Lady Mary), 230.
Maxwell (General) of Cardoness, 191.
—— (Lady) of Monreith, 41.
—— (Rev. John), 89, 94, 102, 104, 108, 187.
Maxwelton, 150, 151.
Meldrum (Rev. George), 195.
Melrose (Abbot of), 38.
—— (mansion of), 38, 48.
Melrose's Land, 130, 132.
Melville (Andrew), 100.
Menzies (Rev. John), 218, 243.
Merchants (Edinburgh) and Tron dials, 297.
Mercurius Caledonius, 116.
Merlin's (Merlioun's) Wynd, 48, 52, 128, 257.
Mersington (Lord), 66.
Mersser (Laurence), 150.
Milton (Lady), 312.
—— (Lord), 178.
Ministers (election of), 100; and English Army, 143–146; and Prince Charles, 167; and Restoration, 210–212.
Mint, 28, 46.
Minto (Lord), 176. (*See* Elliot.)
Minute hands for clock, 261.
Mitchell (Covenanter), 29, 221.
—— (Rev. David), 89, 187.
Mitchelson (Rev. David), 104.
Monboddo (Lord), 310–312.
Monday preaching, 62.
Monk (General), 147.
Montgomery (Master of), 27.
Montrose (Duchess of), 302.
—— (Marquis of), 152, 154.
Monzie (Lord), 175.
Moray (Earl of), 48, 82, 142.
Moray House, 64, 142.
Morrison (Rev. David), 200.
Mortimer (Rev. Robert), 195.
Morton (Earl of), 30.
Mowat (Robert), 326.
Muirhouse, 304.
Munro (Professor (tertius)), 57.
Mure (Borough) Quarry, 136.
Murray (Alexander), 150.
—— (Sir Archibald) of Blackbarony, 150, 232–233.
Murray (Sir Gideon), 154.
—— (Sir James) of Philiphaugh, 231.
—— (John) of Blackbarony, 55.
—— (Mrs. Nicky), 34.
—— (Patrick) of Cherrytree, 57.
—— (Sir Patrick), of Pitdennis, 234.
—— (of Polmais), 230.
—— (Robert), 150.
Murrayshall, 150.
Myllar (Andrew), 39.
Mylne (Alexander), 129, 130, 134.
—— (John), 47, 114, 128, 129, 133, 134, 136, 203, 213.

Napier (Lord), 56.
Nasmyth (Inventor), 274.
Netherbow Port, 27, 45, 64, 142, 165, 209, 210.
Newark (Lord), 152, 235.
Newbyth (Lord), 171.
Newton, 150, 231, 234, 262.
New Kirk, 219.
—— Statistical Account, 337.
—— Well, 91.
—— Year's Eve at Tron, 328, 329.
Nicholson (Rev. Dr. Maxwell), 51, 191, 193, 194; his reclaiming work, 195, 199, 350.
Nicoll (Diarist), 44, 46, 61, 62, 64, 143–147, etc.
Niddrie Street (saddler), 20; Wynd, 48, 49–51; School, 49, 128, 257, 364–368.
Nisbet (Sir Alexander), 150.
—— (of Carphin), 56.
—— (Sir Hary), 150, 156, 233.
—— (Lord), 305, 307.
—— (Sir Patrick), 150, 233.
Nobility and Tron, 242.
North Bridge, 51.
Nor' (North) Loch, 27, 63, 135.
Northesk (Countess of), 57, 179; (Earl of), 179.
Norton (Baron), 317.

Oak roof of Tron, 128, 208, 212, 294.
Octagon (proposed), 363–364.
Ord (Baron), 318.
Orkney (Bishop of), 29.
Ormiston (Laird of), 40.

Panmure (Earl of), 230.
Parish Council (Early), 100.

Parishes or quarters, 88–94, 97 ; Church to be built for S.-E. Parish, 113, 204, 210 ; Ministers elected by lot, 212.
Parliament Close, 134.
—— House, 25, 62, 130.
Paterson (Rev. Bishop), 189, 212, 218.
Peebles Wynd, 56.
Pencaitland, 148 ; laird of, 171.
Perth (sheriffdom of), 345.
Philiphaugh (Lady), 231.
Pinkerton (Historian), 145.
Pitcairn (Captain John), 305.
Pitreavie, 149.
Pitrichie (Lady Jane Maitland of), 177, 303.
Plate (Church), 323–325.
Pleasance, 46.
Pope's effigy (burning of), 62.
Port (Netherbow), 27 ; Cowgate, 46 ; Pleasance, 46.
Potterrow, 59, 91.
Prayers (Common), 78.
Preachings (Restoration), 216.
Prebendaries for St. Giles, 109.
Precentors, 213, 216, 235, 266 ; and gowns, 278.
Preston, 166.
Primrose (Sir Archibald), 149, 154, 220.
—— Catherine, 149, 156.
—— (James), 149, 154, 156.
—— (Sir William) of Carrington, 171.
Privileges of Edinburgh, 144.
Prominent Members of Tron from 1744 to 1822, 301–319.
Psalmody (improvement of), 250.
Pulpit (for Tron), 138, 160.
Pulpits opened to Bishops, 97.
Puritan Ministers, 109.

Quarters (four town), 73 ; correspond to Parishes, 79, 88–104 ; allocation of Churches for, 98–102 ; subdivided into eight, 100 ; S.-E. stated, 101 ; statement on, 107.
Qualified congregation, 31.
Queensberry (Duke of), 64, 227–228.

Railing of Tron, 247, 249, 250.
Ramsay (Allan), 49, 310.
—— (Rev. Andrew), 89, 102, 103, 187.
Ratho, 153.
Ravelston (estate), 148.
—— pavement, 137.
Reader's seat, 138.
Redhouse (Lady), 148, 155
—— (Lord), 155.
Reid-Spittal, 155.
Renwick (James), 221.
Restoration Bishops, 44 ; and Ministers, 61 ; resignation of latter, 210.
Richardson (Sir Robert), 148.
Riddle's Close, 53.
Robert I., 34.
Robertson (Rev. Dr.), 200.
—— (Rev. George), 89, 103.
—— (George) of Lockhart, 53.
—— (Principal), 59, 197, 310.
Robertson's Close, 26, 209.
Rocheid (James) of Inverleith, 192, 304.
Rollock (Rev. Harry), 89.
—— (Rev. Robert), 89.
Roman Catholic Church, 30.
Roof (Tron) of aik, 134 ; copper for, 205 ; theiking, 206 ; to be brought from Kirk at Castlehill, 208, 212, 246, 247, 256, 265.
Roslin Chapel, 31.
Ross (Countess of), 48.
Roxburgh (Earl of), 119.
Runciman (Alexander), 47, 177, 181.
—— (John), 182.
Ruskin (John), 341 ; wine merchant, 342 ; His Son, John James Ruskin, 342 ; educated at High School, 342 ; John Ruskin was grandson of Edinburgh merchant, 343 ; Catherine Tweedale, his paternal grandmother, 343 ; influence of Manse on, 343 ; cf. with Scott, 173 ; John Ruskin is Jacobite, 344.
Ruskin family traced to Muckhairn at Loch Etive, 344 ; MacRuskin wounded at Sheriffmuir, 344 ; marries Perthshire woman, 345 ; this the family link between Perth and Muckhairn, 345.
Russell (John) of Braidshaw, 302.
Rutherford (Dr. John), 41–43, 171–173.
—— (Rev. Dr.), 172.

Sand glass, 133.
Sanctuary (Mint), 47.
Sciennes Hill House, 314.
Scot (Mrs.) of Synton, 319.
Scott (Sir Francis), 46.

Scott (Sir Walter's) mother, 33; maternal grandfather, 41–43; and Hyndford's Close, 42; first poems, 42, 43; birthplace, 59; reference to his mother and grandfather, 171–173; influence of, 173; on Tron fire, 274; and Burns, 314. Cf. with Ruskin as to Manse influence, 173 and 343.
Scougal (Henry), 103, 196.
—— (Patrick), 103; family of, 213.
Seaton (Alexander), 152, 157.
Seat lists (Tron) for 1650–1653, 146–162; for 1745, 171–182.
Seat rents, 209, 263, 264, 287, 288, 291, 293, 296.
Seats, application for, 245; competition for, 253.
Selkirk (Earl of), 41, 317.
Service Books, 116–119.
Session (Lords of) and free seats, 305; renounce privilege, 319.
—— protest against sale of Tron, 281; against public meetings in Tron, 287; against General Assembly meetings in Tron, 289, 291.
Sessions (Kirk), weekly meetings of, 102.
Seton (Chancellor), 123, 214.
—— (Lord), 36, 65.
Sharp (Archbishop), 29, 44.
Shops (around Tron) to be removed, 244, 250.
Simpson (Rev. William), 197, 260.
Simson (Dr. James), 326, 356.
Sinclair (Mrs. Effie), 33.
—— (Sir John), 153.
—— (of Ulbster), 306.
Site for Tron, 203.
Skinner's Hall, 244.
Slander, action for, 219.
Slates, 246.
Smeaton (Hepburn of), 131.
Smith (Sir John), 135.
—— (Lord Chief Baron), 31.
—— (of Methven), 306.
Snaddoun's Close, 55.
Society (Quarry), 132, 135.
Soldiers (Cromwell's), 142–147.
—— (preaching), 147.
—— (Scotch and French), 59, 60.
Somerset (Duke of), 34, 36.
South Bridge, 48, 51, 127, 257–262.
Southesk (Earl of), 153, 213, 214.
South Foulis Close, 43.
South Gray's Close, 40, 46.
Stair (Countess of), 33, 47.
St. Andrews, 28.
—— (Archbishop of), 102, 103, 111, 118.
—— Church, 30.
St. Catherine (of Sienna's Chapel), 36.
St. Catherine's Altar, 26, 56.
St. Cecilia's Hall, 50, 51.
St. Clair (Earl of Orkney), 31.
St. Cuthbert's, 190.
St. Giles, chapter of, 211.
—— (Church and Cathedral), 20; and Gavin Douglas, 25; as Reformed Kirk of Edinburgh, 73–84; parpall walls in, 74; loft in, 75; stalls in, 75; four Quarters or Parishes of, 79; large congregation of, 87; division of, 88–104; and Charles I., 108–122; to be house of prayer only, 109; made Cathedral, 112; wall to be built, 120; alterations stated, 121, 122, 123; and Cromwell's soldiers, 145, 146; citizens in, 165. (*See* Great Kirk and New Kirk.)
St. Giles' Churchyard (Cromwell preaches in), 145.
St. John (Baptist's) Chapel, 36.
St. Leonard's (Hospital), 46.
—— (land rents of), 252.
St. Mary (de Placentia), 35, 46.
St. Mary's Chapel (Niddrie's Wynd), 48, 55.
—— Church (Castle), 208.
—— Wynd, 45, 46.
St. Nicholas (Leith), 127.
St. Paul's (York Place), 31.
St. Roque's Chapel, 36.
St. Thomas' (Hospital), 54.
Stanley (Dean), 115 (note).
Stedman (Rev. John), 196.
Steeple (building of), 136; trees for, 138, 255.
—— (St. Giles'), 20; Tron, 127, 278.
Stevenlaw's Close, 52, 53, 56.
Stevenston, 153.
Stewart (Sir James), 52.
—— (Lord Provost), 170.
—— (General Quarter-Master), 156, 158.
—— (Sir William), 29.
Stirling, 109.
Stirling (Earls of), 41.
—— (Rev. John), 195, 207.
Stonefield (Lord), 46.
Stoves (introduced), 263, 265.

Strachan (Rev. John), 195.
Strauchan (Rev. William), 206.
Strichen (Lord), 38, 179, 313.
Strichen's Close, 38.
Struthers (Rev. William), 89, 101, 103, 108, 187.
Susanna (Countess of Eglintone), 239–240.
Swinton (Sir John) of Swinton, 172.
Sydserf (Rev. Thomas), 89, 102, 103, 187.
Symson (Andrew), 59.

Tailors' Hall, 59, 219.
Taverns (closing of), 77.
Thirlestane, 46.
Thirlstain (Chancellor), 48.
Thomson (Rev. Alexander), 89, 119.
—— (Sir William), 61, 213.
Time-keeper's work done, 275.
Tinwald (Lord), 176, 177, 306, 312.
Todrick's Wynd, 27, 28, 29, 40, 46, 350.
Tolbooth, 22; Parliament in, 48, also 61, 64; in St. Giles, 74, 75.
—— (Over), preaching to Papists in, 77; Knox preaches in, 83; for S.-W. Parish, 89; alteration in, 96, 98; new Tolbooth to be provided, 109; and finished, 110; S.-E. Parish to worship in High Tolbooth, 113.
—— Parish formed, 89; worship in W. St. Giles, 119, 120, 189; formation of, 204; boundaries of, 205.
Town Cross, 20.
Trabroun (Lady), 148.
Trades Hall, 55.
Traquair (Earl of), 117 (note).
Treasurer (Lord High), 28.
Trinity College Church for N.-E. Parish, 88, 89, 143–146, 188, 189, 211, 252.
Tron (Butter), 21, 60, 114, 143.
—— Kirk (or Church), situation of, 19; Lauderdale and Tweeddale pews in, 32; and Sir Walter Scott, 42, 171–173; and Dr. Thomas Chalmers, 43; curtailment of, 52, 127, 257–266; Lord Chancellor at, 63; Treaty of Union signed near, 64; worship in Great Kirk of St. Giles, 88–94; Synod to meet in, 98; to be built, 110; name of church, 114–115; delay in finishing, 115–123; mob pelts bishop with stones from, 119; model of, 127; building and accounts of, 127–138; east end of, 128; subjects on site of, 130, 131; foundation-stone laid, 132; stones from Culross and Society, 132; architect, *see* John Mylne; City Arms at, 134; roof, 134; tax for, 134; legacies for, 134–136; theiking, 136; stones from Broughton, Ravelstone, Craigmillar, and Queensferry, 137; lofts in, 138; expense of building, 138; Dunbar and, 146, 147; Cromwell and, 141–162; independent preachers and, 147; repairs on, 160–162; Prince Charles and, 165–172; clergy of, 185–200; chronicle and seatholders of, 203–319; Tron steeple and Holyrood, 213; alterations in, at formation of South Bridge, 257–266; burning of steeple, 271–276; rebuilding of, 279–286; proposed removal and sale of, 279–280; prominent members of, 302–319; Tweeddale and Lauderdale pews, 319; vessels, stain-glass, and New Year's gathering, 323–329; King and Queen's message to Tron Parish children, 330; General Assembly in, 333–338; retaining of old, 363.
—— Kirk bell, 269–270; melted in fire, 271.
—— Parish (boundaries), 19, 91, 101, 205, 209, 245, 290; and Canongate, 45, 59; formerly S.-E. Parish of Edinburgh, 87–104; Calderwood and Row on, 89, 90; Findlay on, 90, 91, 111; Ruskin and, 341–345.
—— (Salt or Over) weighing-beam, 20, 60, 61, 64, 65; markets around, 67–69, 114; punishments at, 144, 145; Cardross (Lord), preaches at, 145.
Tronemen, 55.
Troop (Lady), 181.
Trotter (Rev. George), 189, 195.
Tulchans, 93.
Turner (Painter), 64.
Tweeddale mansion, 44, 46.
Tweeddales (Earls of), 32, 44; 2nd Earl, 44; 1st Earl, 148; 4th Marquis, 181, 311; seat to, in Tron, 319, 356.
Tweedmouth (Lord), 54.

Union riots, 64; debates, 242.
University, 52; students, 62; Principal Colvil, 188; Principal Wishart, 190; Professor Hunter, 191; Professor Brunton, 192; Professor Strachan, 195; Professor Meldrum, 195; Principal Wishart, 196; Professors Menzies and Strauchan, 218.

Vennel (Blackfriars), 35.
Vennels (dangers of), 22.
Veto Act (passed in Tron), 337.
Viceroy of India, 308.
Victoria (Queen) and Tron, 349.
Voluntary subscriptions, 204.

Wallace (Lady), 41.
Walls (structural, erected in St. Giles' Church), to form school, tolbooth, prison, and clerk's chambers, 74; division of Great Kirk, 95; wall altered, 96, 97, 98; parpane wall to be removed, 110, 111; east and west walls to be removed, 113; walls of aisles and vestry to be removed, 113; undertaking of Council, 113, 114; walls again erected, 119.
Wardlaw (Christian), 149.
Water-wyfe (carrier), 135.
Watson (Rev. William), 89, 187.
Wauchopes of Niddrie, 48.
Weavers' Land, 55.
Wedderburn (Patrick), 46.
Week-day preaching, 77; in City Churches, 102, 219, 251.
Weigh-house, 143, 144–146; clerk of, 209.
Wemyss (Lady Elizabeth), 313, 317.
—— (Lady Margaret), 179.
West Bow, 63.
Whitechapel (bell from), 282.
Whyte (Dr.) of Bennochy, 307.
Whytekirk (Lord), 213.
Wig-making, 55.
William (King), prayers for, 219.
Williamson (Rev. J. W. M.), 200.
—— (Rev. Dr. Wallace), 359.
Wilson (Ebenezer), 263, 267–269.
Window stone, 134.
Windows (stain-glass), 325–328.
Wishart (Rev. Dr. George), 167, 176, 190, 246.
—— (Rev. Principals), 167, 190–191, 196, 244, 246, 249, 304.
Wood (Rev. Matthew), 196.
Wounds (9 men injured at building), 135.
Wrights and Masons, 48, 55.

Yester (Lady), 44, 89, 91, 114; subscribes for building Tron, 132.
—— (Lord), 148, 156, 158.
Yester (Lady) Church and Parish, 44, 89, 97, 208–209; seat for Earl of Tweeddale in, 123; and Cromwell, 143, 146, 195, 197, 204; one session for Tron and, 209, 260.
York (Duke of), 62, 63.
Young (Andrew), 49, 50.

ORNAMENTAL PANEL OVER DOORWAY OF THE TRON KIRK.—*See page* 134.

Printed by
MORRISON & GIBB LIMITED
Edinburgh

Date Due

BW5517 .E2T8 B9
The Tron kirk of Edinburgh or Christ's
Princeton Theological Seminary-Speer Library
1 1012 00017 9574